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HISTORY

OF

M I C H I G A N ,

CIVIL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

IN A COMPENDIOUS FORM ;

WITH A

VIEW OF THE SURROUNDING LAKES.

BY

JAMES H. LANMAN.

WITH A MAP.

NEW-YORK:

E. FRENCH, 146 NASSAU STREET.

1839.

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TO THE
PEOPLE OF MICHIGAN,
WHOSE ENTERPRISE FIRST URGED THEM INTO THE WILDERNESS,
WHOSE ENERGIES
ARE ADVANCING THE PROGRESS OF THE STATE,
THIS WORK
IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

P R E F A C E .

THE tract of territory now embraced in the State of Michigan, derives its name probably from the Indian word Michisawgyegan, signifying a Great Lake. Its growing importance has induced me to undertake this work. Endeavoring to exhibit its history and its resources in a condensed form, I have aimed at accuracy in all its parts ; and to state nothing but that for which ample evidence may be produced. The materials have been scattered around ; some in rough fragments half buried in the soil, some in sculptured masses, and others had not been hewn from the quarry. If it be thought that they are arranged into a well-proportioned fabric, I reap a full reward. Besides a large body of documentary matter and other sources from which facts have been derived, are the works of Hakluyt, Hennepin, La Hontan, Charlevoix, Henry, Carver, Roger, Mackenzie, Schoolcraft, and the valuable discourses which have been delivered by Lewis Cass, Henry R. Schoolcraft, Henry Whiting, and John Biddle before the Historical Society of Michigan. I would also acknowledge my deepest obligation to several gentlemen of the Detroit bar, among whom are B. F. H. Witherell, A. D. Frazer, and Franklin Sawyer, for aiding my researches in the prosecution of the work ; and especially to Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, for his kind aid and advice when these were most required ; an assistance, springing not only from personal friendship, but from an interest in the north-west, whose history and re-

sources his literary efforts have illustrated and adorned. I am also indebted to the State Librarian of Michigan and the Secretary of State, for facilitating my labors in their own respective departments.

Independently of the interest which has been for some time thickening around the Lake region of the country, from the progress of emigration into that quarter and its extraordinary advance, there are also other facts which augment this interest. In the first place it has been excluded from the possession of the United States until the year 1796, and, by consequence, its history is foreign previous to that date. Held by the French crown until 1760, it was made a rallying point for its military and mercantile operations until this period, connected as they were with savages and the influence of French institutions and the Catholic Church. It is, moreover, a new and comparatively unknown field. While in the more densely settled States of the east the prominent events of their growth have been carefully treasured up and recorded, those of the north-west have been in a great measure neglected. This is doubtless owing to the fact, that the region which now comprises the American States in this quarter had no distinct and independent government until the year 1787. It was a howling wilderness, the border of a vast jurisdiction belonging to monarchies abroad ; inhabited by migratory traders, wandering hordes of savages, or temporary armies encamped for the purposes of defence or conquest. But the time has now arrived when the facts should be embodied, and the causes and consequences which have borne upon that country clearly set forth.

There is a striking difference in the colonial character of the Atlantic States and those of the north-west. The colonial structure of the States of New England and New-York was of the English and Dutch cast ; while that of Michigan, previous to its conquest by England, was French. The iron independence, the upright, sober, and self-denying character of the founders of New England, chastening their appetites and passions to a severe form of religious doctrine, was unlike that of the class of Frenchmen, who were inspired with

that loyalty which characterized the reign of Louis XIV., the volatile, reckless, and amiable class who now inhabit the cottages of a great portion of the Canadas, and who we have recently seen striving to shake off the British power ; the class who had been accustomed to reverence the French monarchy in their own country, and were willing to obey their seigneurs in the American wilderness. Another difference between the two colonies consisted in their religion. While the Quaker and the Puritan adhered, with the utmost rigid firmness, to the forms of their own church, the region of the lakes was the stronghold of that gorgeous fabric, the Church of Rome ; and for more than a century it was the ranging ground of the most polished order of that church, the order of the Jesuits.

The history of Michigan exhibits three distinct and strongly marked epochs. The first may be properly denominated the Romantic, which extends to the year 1760, when its dominion was transferred from France to Great Britain. This was the period when the first beams of civilization had scarcely penetrated its forests, and the paddles of the French Fur Trade swept the lakes, and the boat-songs of the traders awakened tribes as wild as the wolves which howl around their wigwams.

The second epoch is the Military. Commencing with the Pontiac war ; and, running down through the successive struggles of the British, the Indians, and the Americans, to obtain the dominion of the country, it ends with the victory of Commodore Perry, the defeat of Proctor, and the death of Tecumseh, the leader of the Anglo-savage Confederacy upon the banks of the Thames.

The third epoch is the enterprising, the hardy, the practical, the mechanical, the working age of Michigan ; and it commences with the introduction of the public lands into market. It is the age of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures ; of harbors, cities, canals, and rail-roads ; when the landscapes of the forest are meted out by the chain and compass of the surveyor ; when its lakes and streams are sounded and adjudged by their capacity to turn the wheel of a mill or

to float a ship; and when these facts are set down in the value of dollars and cents to the price current of the exchange. It is the age when a sturdy energy, acting under the impulse of our free government, is bounding forward with unprecedented vigor; founding states, developing resources, overcoming the obstacles of nature by artificial means, and doing in years what was formerly the work of ages. This energy, acting upon our western States, cannot be viewed without amazement; its consequences no human foresight can fathom.

One cannot fail to be surprised at the too general want of information which prevails at the east regarding the region of the north-western lakes. Although the advance of emigration has tended somewhat to enlighten the public mind on that subject, still it is even now believed by many to be a wilderness, filled in a great measure with savages, and destitute of the advantages of civilization. Such expressions do not keep pace with the advance of the times. They would have been well founded twenty years ago; for the great mass of the population and wealth has sprung up within that period, while the bulk of the American people have been reposing along the Atlantic sea-board. A concise account of the progress of the State of Michigan will rectify such impressions, if any still remain.

Michigan attracts to itself interest from abroad on other grounds. A considerable portion of the domain is now held by non-resident owners, and, on account of the advance of the country, must be valuable to that class of readers, as well as to those who seek a place for settlement. This work is also designed as a book of reference to the citizens of the State where the prominent facts relating to its progress and present condition may be found.

The jurisprudential history of Michigan is somewhat singular in the various changes of the government from the "feudal system" of the *Coutume de Paris*, the French colonial law, to the forms of the law of England; and thence through the successive forms of legislation prescribed by the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the old north-western territory down to the establishment of the present State Government.

With the exception of the discourses to which allusion has been made, the present volume is the first attempt to exhibit, in a connected form, the history of Michigan. At points I have gone beyond the bounds of the State as now organized, when the facts appeared to have a bearing on the main object. The history of Michigan is traced back to the early history of Canada, because it was a province of that dominion, was peopled by the same stock, and subject to the same government under the French and English domination. In the prosecution of the work I have, in a few instances, used the language of others ; and a portion of two articles which I had prepared, and which were inserted in the *North American Review*, has been here embodied, for the purpose of avoiding the labor which would be required in transcribing the parts relating to their subjects.

No one can be more sensible than myself of the deficiency of the present volume. It has been sent in parcels to the press, and locked up in stereotype plates before I could have the opportunity to correct them as I could wish, being distant from the place of publication. A law of Michigan, subscribing for the work, also limited the time of its delivery to the first of May, 1839. This plea is put in to abate the severity of criticism, which might be urged against any inaccuracies that may be discovered, either in point of fact or literary execution. I have not sought to collect every incident which has occurred at the north-west, and the evidence to support it or oppose it, and to enter upon long hypothetical arguments for the purpose of establishing them ; but it has been my design to group those prominent circumstances which seem to have been founded on strong evidence, and which have controlled the destiny of the State, for the purpose of showing why Michigan is in its present condition, and to give a general sketch of its geographical features. In this labor I have occupied that portion of time which ought to have been, and will be hereafter, exclusively devoted to the labors of an arduous profession.

Thirteen years ago the author had occasion to spend one year in what was then the territory of Michigan. Upon the

banks of the River Raisin and the Detroit River, which are now adorned with beautiful specimens of architecture, there were then only two small settlements, Monroe and Detroit; and near to these a few French farms lay scattered upon the streams of the frontier. The interior was a wilderness, then but little known. In these villages the Indian was nearly as often met as the white man. The mercantile houses in these settlements were often surrounded by the pack-horses of the savages loaded with furs; and he has journeyed through the forests towards Detroit with Canadian Frenchmen, who were then transporting them to that place, which was the principal mart of the trade. In visiting the State of Michigan in 1837 the country could scarcely be recognized. A new class of population had spread itself out upon the soil, villages had begun to dot the wilderness from the banks of St. Clair to Lake Michigan, and, under the progress of industry, the State had sprung up in power and importance like a volcanic island from the sea.

Having been cast as an emigrant two hundred miles into the interior during the last year, it occurred to him that a new and rich field was opened around him to research; and that, comparatively, little was known respecting the early condition of the country by many who had been long residents. Measures were soon taken to collect the most interesting circumstances connected with its early history. The matter soon grew upon his hands, and it was thought that the facts thus accumulated were worthy of publication. The liberal encouragement of the State furnished a further motive to that end. It will be seen that the facts embodied in relation to the later progress of the territory have been thrown together in a more rapid form, as there are no distinct epochs in the space of four or five years. Even the first newspaper in Michigan was issued as late as 1809. The recent history of the country is, indeed, little more than the history of rapid emigration and settlement.

From the facts here embodied, it will be perceived that the operations of the European Governments in this country were actuated by a desire of dominion; and that it was the

design of their rival projects to grasp the wealth and jurisdiction of the soil. The country bordering the great lakes, which we call *new*, will be perceived to have been long known. We shall perceive that the winding courses of its rivers and its remotest forests have been explored, for mercantile and religious objects, from a distant period ; and that the rich furs which abounded in the wilderness of the north-west have for two centuries adorned the robes of the monarchs of Europe, and contributed to the luxury of courts.

The particular character of the religious exertions of the Catholic missionaries exhibits prominently the influence of their religion. This remark is made without reference to sects or creeds. The spirit which was frequently exhibited by them, was not that which pines within iron bars and frowns on innocent enjoyment ; not the religion which exhausts itself in forms and rubrics, in making professions and counting beads, a religion which showed itself in words rather than in action. But it was a spirit which softened the character and controlled the conduct, circulating through the whole moral system as the blood through the veins of the human body. It was a religion which waved its snow-white banner—emblazoned with the star that glowed with clear brilliancy upon the plains of Judea—above the strife of savage passions, and encountered hardships, trials, and even death itself, to benefit barbarians.

We shall see, in the contrast of the present condition of the north-west with that of former times, the influence of political freedom upon national growth. It shows that civil government, by furnishing the means and motives for action, pushes forward the enterprises of communities ; and that national improvement is advanced or checked, just in proportion to the spirit of the people, and the frame of government by which they are controlled.

Had more ample materials and greater leisure been afforded me, the work would have appeared in a more perfect form ; I should have endeavored, under such circumstances, to give each fact in chronological order, and to arrange it under separate years. This, however, was found to be impracticable,

because the country contained no records of annual events. I should, moreover, have given each incident its full proportion and coloring, and thus have thrown upon the canvas a symmetrical painting; whereas I have now only drawn a group of crayon sketches, imperfect and unsatisfactory, I fear, to the great mass of readers. It is a consolation, however, to know that these can be modified at a future time if the general plan of the work meets the public approbation.

Perhaps the spirit in which the subject is treated may be considered by the less excitable class of readers as too ardent. To that class I would remark, that the nature of the subject seems naturally to awaken much of zeal. The example of new States advancing in our western forests, not in steps but in bounds, presents an extraordinary scene, calculated to call forth whatever of enthusiasm the mere growth of a country can kindle. The people of the new States of the west, carrying from the east their habits, their laws, their institutions, and their principles, and erecting frames of government upon common models, are composed, for the most part, of mutual acquaintances and friends. It is therefore natural for each to regard the causes which have acted on the soil of the other, and the institutions which both may build up, with intense interest; for their labors are the achievement of one common people, shedding glory on one common country. They are the offspring of free mind, secure in the reward of its exertion, which has rent the manacles of past ages, and which is now accomplishing its own bloodless victories on a field as wide and bounteous as the heart of man could wish. To trace the causes which have acted upon the State, and to exhibit its present condition, is, finally, the design of this work; and whatever may be its errors in point of statement or taste, if it shall be thought that it adds any thing to the stock of State history, and throws any light upon the resources of the northwest, I shall be satisfied.

Detroit, Jan. 1st, 1839.

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HISTORY OF MICHIGAN.

CHAPTER I.

General view of French Colonization—Voyages of Jacques Cartier—Hochelaga—Roberval's Voyage—Samuel Champlain's Voyage—Jesuits sent to Canada—Company of New France—Death of Champlain—Religious Institutions in Canada—Failure of the Company of New France—Rival claims of the English and French—Iroquois and Algonquins—Marquis d'Argenson appointed Governor—Condition of the Colonies—Count de Frontenac—Discovery of the Mississippi—Discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi.

DURING the fifteenth and a greater part of the sixteenth century, the principal monarchs of Europe devoted their enterprise to the discovery of new worlds. Now, the energies of mankind are employed in their colonization. The Italian states, and especially the Republics of Venice and Genoa, the Portuguese and the Spaniards, France and England, embarked in the project of exploration. The design of the adventurers was to aggrandize themselves by founding new empires, and their motive was the love of gain and dominion. A spirit of adventure kindled the more active youth of those states, who were employed in the study of navigation and the kindred sciences. They burned with zeal to traverse vast and trackless oceans, stretching away thousands of miles toward unknown coasts, which their fancy had painted in glowing colors as a second Eden; and to plant the banners of their country upon shores adorned with the richest scenery, whose caves were encrusted with gems, whose streams glided over beds of silver, and where the rocks were based on solid gold. Monarchs and subjects, nobles and priests, sailors, artisans, soldiers, and nuns, freely gave their patronage or individual service to the great work. Columbus and the Cabots, Gaspar de Cortereal, Giovanni Verazzano, and other

daring mariners, had each, in their own behalf or under the auspices of their respective governments, crossed the sea for these objects. The French directed their projects to the discovery and settlement of the more northern parts of the country around the St. Lawrence, because the Spaniards occupied the territory of Florida, and the English held possession of the middle portion of the continent.

About ten years after the voyage of Verazzano, Jacques Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, was granted a commission from Francis I. to push his discoveries into the then unknown regions of America. On the 20th of April, 1534, he accordingly embarked upon the expedition with two ships, each of sixty tons burthen, and a good crew of sixty-one men. This first voyage of Cartier was, however, limited to a survey of the northern coast of Newfoundland. When he had landed upon the shores and seen the natives, he was induced, from the precarious state of the weather and the advanced season, to return to St. Malo ; and on the 15th of September, 1534, he came to anchor in that port, reserving further discoveries for a future voyage.

On his return, Cartier was received with much favor, and having given a favorable account of his voyage, he soon entered upon a second expedition. His squadron on this second voyage consisted of three ships, the Great *Hermina* of about 120 tons, which Cartier commanded in person, the Little *Hermina* of 60 tons, and the *Hermirillon* of 40 tons. Before they embarked, a solemn and gorgeous pageant was performed in the church for their spiritual comfort. Having confessed, and received the sacrament, the crew were drawn up in the cathedral, and, standing before the altar, received also the benediction of the Bishop, who was arrayed in the most costly sacerdotal robes.

On the 15th of May, 1535, Cartier, the French admiral, weighed anchor, and set sail for Newfoundland. The voyage was tempestuous. Arriving within sight of Newfoundland, the mariners passed to the west, and entering the gulf on the day of St. Lawrence, they gave that name to the broad sheet of water which was spread out before them. This name

was afterwards extended to the river. In September, Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the island of Orleans. He was, however, here opposed in his progress by a body of Indians, who probably considered the white men as intruders, although in other respects he was received with generous hospitality by the natives. In order to discourage his advance into the interior, they made him bountiful presents of corn and fish. Finding this of no avail, the Indians resorted to conjury, supposing they might terrify him into compliance. A circle was drawn upon the sand by a prominent sachem, and the savages, who had collected thick around it, being ordered to retire, the French mariner was beckoned within this circle. A speech having been concluded, Cartier was presented two or three small children, amid the yells of the surrounding savages. Finding these arts also unavailing, the chief resorted to a species of deception, which is now in common practice among the Indians. They dressed three men like devils, wrapped them in black and white dog skins, their faces were painted black as coal, while they had horns on their head more than a yard long.* These Indian jugglers having performed certain feats, declared that the Great Spirit had uttered maledictions against the French, and that there was so much ice and snow in the country, certain death would await the white men if they advanced. The ships of Cartier having been safely moored, he advanced up the St. Lawrence, notwithstanding the opposition of the savages, and soon arrived at the principal village on the island of Hochelaga, where Montreal now stands. That region he found in the possession of a branch of the Wyandot or Huron tribe of Indians, who had driven out the preceding inhabitants, and established themselves in their place.

Having climbed the hill at the base of which lay the village, he beheld spread around him a gorgeous scene of woods and waters, promising glorious visions of future opulence and national strength. That hill he called Mont-royall, and this name was afterwards extended to the island of Montreal. At that period, more than three centuries ago, the village of

* Hakluyt, vol. 3, page 269.

Hochelaga was surrounded by large fields of corn and stately forests. The hill called Mont-royall was fertile and highly cultivated. "The form of the village was round, and encompassed with timber, with three courses of ramparts, framed like a sharp spire, but laid across above. The middlemost of them was made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. These ramparts were framed and fashioned with pieces of timber laid along the ground, very well and cunningly joined together after this fashion. The enclosure was in height about two rods. It had but one gate, which was shut with piles, stakes, and bars. Over it, and also in many places of the wall, there were places to run along, and ladders to get up, full of stones for its defence. In the town there were about fifty houses, about fifty paces long and twelve or fifteen broad, built of wood, covered over with the bark of the wood as broad as any board, very finely and cunningly joined together. Within these houses there were many rooms, lodgings, and chambers. In the midst of these there was a great court, in the middle whereof they made their fire. They lived in common together. Then did the husbands, wives, and children, each one retire themselves to their chambers. They also had on the tops of their houses, garrets, where they kept their corn to make their bread, which they called *cara-conny*."¹

At that time the savages prepared their corn with mortars and pestles, and they made different kinds of pottage with corn, peas, beans, and muskmellons; and they had in their houses certain vessels, as big as any "butt or tun," in which they preserved their fish. Their main support was hunting, fishing, and husbandry. The most valuable thing in the world to them was called *cornibotz*, and of these they made beads, and wore them about their necks, "even as we do chains of gold and silver."

* This aspect of an Indian village in 1535 may perhaps throw some light on the ancient monuments of an unknown race, which are now scattered over the west, and which are supposed to belong to a people settled in North America before the Indians. It was probably like a modern Indian village, somewhat modified in its defences by the belligerent character of that age.

Cartier was at that time told by the natives, that the right and ready way to Saguenay was west-north-west; and that there were people, far distant in that region, who were clad as the French, and lived in towns, who were very honest, and had "great stores" of gold and copper; that there were westward *three great lakes* and a *sea of fresh water* (probably Lake Superior), of which no man had found the end; that there was a certain river running south-west, (the Mississippi,) of which there was a month's sailing to go down to a certain land, where there was no ice or snow, where the inhabitants continually warred against one another, and where there was a great abundance "of oranges, almonds, nuts, and apples.*"

Erecting a cross and shield emblazoned with the arms of France, the emblem of the state and church, denoting that the French king was the rightful discoverer of the country, Cartier named the region New France. On the 5th of October the French mariner left the village of Hochelaga, and spent the winter on the river St. Croix. The representations of Cartier, who was known to possess a candor equal to his energy and judgment, somewhat checked the progress of French enterprise. The country which he visited abounded with no gold or precious stones, and its shores were alleged to be bleak and stormy. In consequence, the project of colonization was not renewed until about four years after his return to France, which occurred during the next summer.

In 1540, François de la Roque, Seigneur de Roberval, was granted an extensive charter by Francis I. which covered the whole of that region, and it invested him with all the power possessed by the French king within its bounds. During the summer of that year, Roberval sailed for America, with a squadron of five vessels under the supreme naval command of Cartier. This voyage was effected without any serious accident, and a fort was erected on some part of the coast now unknown, of which Cartier was left commandant.

* That region is supposed to be Florida. Among other articles of curious workmanship, which were presented to Cartier, was a *great knife of red copper*, which came from Saguenay.

Having suffered from the severity of the season and the annoyance of the Indians, who opposed the advance of the French, he soon re-embarked his colony for France. On his way back he met Roberval on the banks of Newfoundland, with vessels laden with men, provisions, and arms; and returning with him to the fort, he assumed the command while Roberval sailed up the St. Lawrence. No authentic accounts, bearing directly on the exploration of Canada for the space of sixty years from that time, have come down to us, excepting the disastrous expedition of the Marquis de la Roche, and the voyages of M. de Chauvin to Tadousac, about the year 1600; domestic troubles, covering the French empire with gloom, swept all projects of foreign discovery from the face of the kingdom.*

At length a company of merchants was formed at Rouen, through the agency of M. Pontgrave, an intelligent partner in a house at St. Malo, and M. Chatte, the governor of Dieppe, for the purpose of foreign colonization. This Company was invested with the same privileges which had before been granted to la Roque for the purpose of exploring the country and establishing colonies along the St. Lawrence. Samuel Champlain, who was a partner in the Company, led the expedition in 1603, and in 1608 this energetic and hardy pioneer had founded the city of Quebec.† The design of this Company was to reap the profits of the fur trade, as the wilderness abounded with the fur-bearing animals; and a spot having been selected for his colonial establishment, Champlain left at that point a few settlers, who soon commenced building rude huts and clearing the lands.

The foundation of the hatred of the Iroquois Confederacy towards the French, whose wars with the Colonists are identified with the early history of New France, was, doubt-

* The following is said to be the origin of the name of Canada, although it is a doubtful question. When the Spanish first visited the country in pursuit of gold, they remarked in their disappointment Aca-nada, here is nothing. These words were so often repeated to the French by the Indians, that it was believed to be the name of the country.

† Quebec, says Charlevoix, is derived from Quebeis, an Algonquin word signifying a strait.

less, laid at this time by Champlain ; although Cartier had before advanced up the St. Lawrence, taken against their will, and carried across the Atlantic, some of their principal sachems, Donnaconna, Taignaogny, and Domagaia, the first of whom died in France. The Hurons and Algonquins were then in league against the Iroquois, and Champlain, as a point of policy, joined these two nations against the latter tribes. Having, however, explored the country and acquired a general knowledge of its circumstances, he returned home, and succeeded in organizing a new Company under the patronage of the Prince of Condé, who assumed the title of viceroy of New France. Arriving in Canada in 1612, he brought four Recollets to the colony for the conversion of the savages, and five years afterwards he was appointed lieutenant under Marshal de Montmorency, who had succeeded the Prince of Condé in the vice-royalty. During the same year he had introduced his family into Canada, and employed his talents and enterprize in encouraging the colonists in the disheartening labors of the forest, in consolidating the French power, and in repelling the attacks of the Iroquois.

The Duke de Ventadour had entered into holy orders in 1622, and, for the purpose of strengthening the influence of the French and converting the Indians, he soon sent into Canada a number of Jesuits. Troubles, however, soon sprang up. The Sieur de Caen, with a body of Protestants, had embarked in the Canadian fur trade, and from religious jealousies or mercantile rivalry, they soon came to open and bitter collision with the Catholics.

In order to adjust these dissensions, and to consolidate the French power in the colony, Cardinal de Richelieu organized what was termed the Company of New France. This Company was comprised of one hundred associates, who engaged to send to Canada three hundred tradesmen, and to supply them with all necessary utensils for three years ; after which time they were to grant to each workman sufficient land for his support, besides grain for seed. The Company also stipulated to colonize the lands embraced in their charter, with six thousand inhabitants before the year 1643, and to pro-

vide each settlement with three Catholic priests, whom they were to support for fifteen years. The cleared land was then to be granted to the Catholic clergy for the maintenance of the church. Certain prerogatives were at the same time reserved to the French king. The principal were, religious supremacy, homage as sovereign of the country, the right of nominating the commandants of forts and the officers of justice, and, on each succession to the throne, the acknowledgment of a crown of gold weighing eight marks. The Company was also invested with the right of conferring titles of distinction, some of which were required to be confirmed by the king. The right to traffic in peltries, and to engage in other commerce, excepting the cod and whale fisheries, was at the same time granted in the charter.

The king of France also presented the Company two ships of war, upon condition that the value should be refunded, if fifteen hundred French inhabitants were not transported into the colonies by their agency within the first ten years. At the same time the descendants of Frenchmen inhabiting Canada, and all savages who should be converted to the Catholic faith, were permitted to enjoy the same privileges as natural-born subjects; and all artificers, sent out by the Company, who had spent six years in the French colonies, were permitted to return and settle in any trading town in France. The charter granting these privileges was executed in 1627, and, under more favorable circumstances, it might have conferred upon the partners solid and permanent advantages. The design was to strengthen the rights of France to the territory which she claimed in North America, while the principal object of the grantees seemed directed to the benefit of themselves by the prosecution of the fur trade.

M. Champlain was soon appointed governor. For the first few years, however, the colony, from various causes connected with its remote position from the parent country, the hardships of the forest and the hostility of the savages, suffered extremely and was almost on the point of breaking down. Ships had been sent out from France for supplies, but they were captured by Sir David Kertk, then in the employment

of the English crown. The depredations of the Iroquois kept the energies of the colonists in check, and crippled their strength until the year 1629, when the French adventurers were involved in the deepest distress. At this juncture Sir David Kertk appeared before Quebec with an English squadron, and compelled Champlain to surrender that fortress and all Canada to England. The generous terms of Kertk's capitulation, however, induced most of the French emigrants to remain, and in 1632 the country was restored to France by the treaty of St. Germain.

Immediately on this event, vigorous efforts were made to advance the colonization of the country. Champlain, who had been re-appointed Governor, soon sailed with a squadron provided with the necessary supplies and armaments, and arrived in Canada, where he found many of the former colonists. At that time the colonial system was better organized; measures were adopted to reconcile existing differences, growing out of the mixed and somewhat immoral principles of the emigrants, and to prevent the introduction into the colony of any but individuals of fair character. In 1635 a college of the order of the Jesuits was established at Quebec under the direction of the Marquis de Gamache, and this institution was of great advantage in improving the morals of the people, which had grown to a state of open licentiousness.

During that year the colony suffered a great misfortune in the death of Champlain. With a mind warmed into enthusiasm by the vast domain of wilderness which was stretched around him and the glorious visions of future grandeur which its resources opened, a man of extraordinary hardihood and the clearest judgment, a brave officer and a scientific seaman, his keen forecast discerned, in the magnificent prospect of the country which he occupied, the elements of a mighty empire, of which he had hoped to be the founder. With a stout heart and ardent zeal he had entered upon the project of colonization, he had disseminated valuable knowledge of its resources by his explorations, and had cut the way through hordes of savages for the subsequent successful progress of the French towards the lakes. Upon the death of

Champlain, Montmagny was appointed Governor. But although he entered into the views of his predecessor, Montmagny did not possess that practical knowledge and ripe experience which might have enabled him to carry out the projects of Champlain ; and by consequence, the fur trade was all that was prosecuted with any degree of energy under his administration.

About that period a number of religious institutions were founded in Canada, ostensibly for the christianization of the Indians, but probably for the extension of the French power through the wilderness, by pressing the sanctions of the Church upon the credulous minds of the savages. At Sillery, a few miles above Quebec, a Catholic seminary was founded for their instruction ; and it was placed under the superintendence of three nuns from Dieppe, who had been sent out through the agency of the Duchesse d'Arguillon. The convent of St. Ursula was also established at Quebec by Mademoiselle de la Peltrie, a young widow of rank, who had engaged several sisters of the Ursulines at Tours, with whom she sailed from Dieppe in a vessel chartered at her own expense. A seminary of the order of St. Salpicius was also founded at Montreal. This was consecrated by the Jesuits with great pomp, and the whole Island of Montreal was granted by the king for its support.

The Company of New France, however, did not fulfil the object of its charter. Little was done by that body, either to encourage the settlement of the country or for the advancement of agriculture. The attention of the ministers of the crown was, moreover, diverted from the complaints of the French Colonists, by men who had an important interest in directing the physical labor of the colonies into those channels whence the most sudden wealth could be accumulated ; by the partners of the Companies desiring to concentrate the energies of the people upon the fur trade. In the remote points of the wilderness around the St. Lawrence, forts of rude construction had been erected ; but these were merely posts of defence, or depots of the trade, the dominion of which, at that early period, stretched through tracts of wilder-

ness large enough for kingdoms. The character of the females connected with the church was too generally impure, and that of most of the men was openly profligate. The soldiers, who had been from time to time despatched from France to protect the French Colonies in Canada, were also lax in their morals, and they came without women. The energies of the people were cramped by the Iroquois, who hung like hungry wolves around the track of the colonists, seeking to glut their vengeance against the French, by butchering their people and plundering their settlements whenever opportunity occurred. Montreal had been attacked by the savages, and its entire destruction was only prevented by the arrival of M. d' Ailleboud from France with a reinforcement in 1647. During the same year the institution of the "Daughters of the Congregation" was founded by Marquerite Bourgeois.

While these French settlements were advancing in Canada, a rival power had sprung up on the Atlantic sea-board. The English, whose discoveries and colonization were nearly contemporaneous with those of the French, had spread their villages along the eastern sea-coast of the United States. First stimulated by the same general objects as those of the French, the fishery and the fur trade, the English strength was gradually augmented by colonies founded in this wilderness on account of oppression abroad, and afterwards led by the sturdy pilgrims of New England, the Dutch of New-York, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the liberal genius of Lord Baltimore and other enterprising adventurers. While the English were scattered along the sea-coast, the French occupied, or pretended to occupy, the vast wilderness around the Great Lakes and west of the Alleghany Mountains. They both held possession of their respective tracts under the authority of their respective governments, and claimed them on the same grounds—priority of discovery, conquest, and appropriation. They were both rivals in the fur trade, and it was the effort of each to subvert the power of the other. The prize at stake was a country of unbounded resources and magnificent features; and the struggle to attain it was made between two nations,

whose constitution has evinced in every period of their subsequent history repugnant principles. In the American wilderness was exemplified, too, the all-grasping power of national ambition. Here, waving over the same soil, were found two hostile banners of rival nations, who were striving to wrest from each other the dominion of a country possessed and claimed by barbarians. Here also was demonstrated that code of civilized ethics, founded on the reasoning of the schools, which taught the two nations to attach to themselves barbarians opposed to each other from immemorial feuds, and to place deadly weapons in their hands. Quebec and Montreal, the French forts on the most important streams in Canada and the north-western lakes, Oswego and Niagara, Le Boeuf and Duquesne, were the strong-holds of the French power ; while the English settlements, during the early period of French colonization, were confined chiefly to the country now embraced in Virginia, Pennsylvania, New-York, and New-England.

The French and English spared no pains to attach to their interests the confederates whom they found in the wilderness. On the side of the English were the *Iroquois*, and the French were supported by the race of the *Algonquins*—barbarian warriors, whose power was co-extensive with the continent and, in their customs and institutions similar, in many points, to the ancient Celtæ of Britain. They exhibited noble traits combined with savage ferocity. Clothed with the skins of wild beasts, living in their retired villages made of bark, under the overhanging boughs of the forest, cultivating little patches of prairie for their corn, and acquiring food by the chase or by fishing ; whose weapons of war were the bow, the rifle, the tomahawk and the war-club ; lying in their wigwams in indolence upon the banks of the streams, or shooting their canoes across the glassy lakes of the wilderness like meteors through the heavens, leaving behind them a silver track, unknown in their origin then, as now,—such men were the allies of France and England.

On the side of the English was the confederacy of the *Iroquois*, called by them the Six Nations. They comprised the

most powerful Indian league which is known to have existed on the continent. It consisted of the Onondagas, the Cayugas, the Senecas, the Oneidas, and the Mohawks; and in 1712 the Tuscaroras were adopted into the confederation. The warriors of these tribes were men of large stature and muscular forms. More savage in their expression of countenance than the Algonquin race, their determination seemed to mark every feature of the face and every nerve of the body. Military skill, courage, shrewdness, forecast, energy, ambition, and eloquence, were their prominent traits. Affiliated by immemorial connexion, and having exercised the policy of conquest over the other tribes, they held an extensive tract of territory in their hands. They claimed, in fact, by patrimony or conquest, the whole of the country "not occupied by the southern Indians, the Sioux, the Kenisteneaux, and the Chippewas, and by the English and French, as far west as the Mississippi and Lake Winnipeg, as far north-west as the waters which unite this lake with Hudson's Bay and Labrador."*

In their policy the Iroquois appear to have had not only more vigor, but more system, than the other Indian tribes. Their general interests were managed by a grand council of chiefs, who annually assembled at their central canton, Onondaga, in the state of New-York. The beautiful region of the lakes which bear their names, in that state, was their favorite council ground. Each nation was divided into three tribes, whose *totems* were the tortoise, the wolf, and the bear. All their councils were conducted with the greatest decorum, solemnity, and deliberation. "In the characteristics of profound policy," says Gov. Clinton of New-York, in an eloquent Discourse, "they surpassed an assembly of feudal barons, and were, perhaps, not far inferior to the great Amphictyonic council of Greece." "The senators of Venice," says an equally eloquent writer,† "do not appear with a graver countenance, and perhaps do not speak with more majesty and solidity than these ancient Iroqueses."

* Clinton's Discourse.

† Father Louis Hennepin, one of the most accomplished Catholic missionaries upon the Lakes during the early period of French colonization, in his work entitled, "Hennepin's Voyage to North America."

The Iroquois were like the Romans in many points of their character and policy. Among these were their indomitable spirit of freedom, their martial energy, their military policy, their lofty bearing, their stirring eloquence, and their all-grasping ambition. As conquests accumulated, their vanquished enemies were incorporated into their own tribes, to supply the ravages of war; and those were kept in rigorous vassalage. Tributes of wampum, shell-fish, and other articles of value, were periodically exacted from these conquered nations with the utmost promptitude, and the penalty of death was affixed to the failure of their payment. The warriors cherished a sort of Spartan discipline throughout their confederacy. The young barbarians were urged to emulate, and often advanced to, the dignity of their fathers. They were taught to hunt the wild beasts almost before their muscles were sufficiently strong to bend the bow, and to undergo the deprivations of hunger and cold in remote forests, in order to harden them for arms. Their character was constituted of all those elements which in civilized or savage life produce success, founded on cunning or courage. They were equally crafty and ferocious. They could crawl, unseen, along the track of their enemies, or rush down upon the French, in fearless bands of naked and gigantic warriors.

The alledged ground of controversy with the other tribes, on the part of the Iroquois, was generally the violation of boundary lines, the rights of embassy, and individual wrongs; but the love of dominion and glory stimulated their conquests through the wilderness. That they regarded the inroads of the whites upon their territory with jealousy, there can be no doubt. There is as little doubt that their ancient feuds with the Hurons and Algonquins, their prejudices and their caprice, as well as the policy which was exercised towards them by the French, induced them to join the English; and it is well known that their marches against the French Colonists and the remote missionary posts, were like the rushing of a tornado through the forest. "We may guide the English to our Lakes. We are born free. We neither depend on Onondio nor Corlaer, (France or England,)" said

Haaskouan, the Seneca chief, to De la Barre, in 1684. Flashes of heroism occasionally broke out, exhibiting the sternest elements of their character. An aged Onondaga warrior was taken in 1697, in an expedition of Frontenac, and delivered over to an Algonquin savage, who stabbed him with a scalping knife for the purpose of ending his existence after he had inflicted horrible tortures. "You ong't not to abridge my life," said this Roman of the wilderness, "*that you may learn to die like a man.* For my own part I die contented, because I know no meanness with which to reproach myself."

On the side of the French was the race of the Algonquins. This race extended under different names from the head of Lake Erie along the upper Lakes, north to Lake Winnipeg and Hudson's Bay, and south to the mouth of the Ohio river. They were also affiliated with the tribes east of the St. Lawrence, and their influence extended to the savages who roamed the hills of New England. In the league of these two powerful families there were, however, two exceptions. The Wyandots or Hurons were of Iroquois stock, but from unknown causes* they had severed from their chain of tribes, and attached themselves to the French; while the Ottagamis or Foxes, who were originally of the Algonquin family, took part with the English.

The friendship of the Algonquin race for the French seems to have been founded on obvious causes. It was the studied policy of the French to secure their good-will, and solemn compacts were sought to be confirmed with them by their French allies. The French explorers, traders, and missionaries, advanced to their remotest villages in the prosecution of their several objects. They lodged with them in their camps, attended their councils, hunting parties, and feasts; paid respect to their ceremonies, and were joined in the closer bonds of blood. The natural pliancy of the

* Charlevoix, in his journal, gives an account of the cause of this feud, but does not vouch for its accuracy. It was founded, he states, in venatical rivalry. A stake was pledged for success in hunting, and one party returned to camp loaded with the flesh of elks, while the other was unsuccessful.

French character led them into frequent and kind association with the savages, while the English were cold and forbidding in their manners. Besides, the Jesuit missionaries exerted no small influence in strengthening the friendship of the Indians for the French. They erected little chapels in their territory, carpeted with Indian mats and surmounted by the cross, took long journeys through the wilderness, performed the ceremonies of their church in their long black robes, and showed them paintings and sculptured images, which the savages viewed with superstitious awe. Added to this, they practised all the offices of kindness and sympathy for the sick, and held up the crucifix to the fading vision of many a dying neophyte.

In 1658, a new organization was effected in the social system of Canada. The Marquis d' Argenson was appointed Governor-general, and during the following summer, Laval Abbé de Montigny, titular Bishop of Petrie, arrived at Quebec, with a brief from the Pope, by which he was constituted Apostolic vicar. The condition of the colony, however, continued to be much depressed. The Company, occupied by their own projects of aggrandizement through the fur trade, made but little exertion for its substantial advancement; and its associates, reduced at last to the number of forty, relinquished the traffic for the seignioral acknowledgment of one thousand beaver skins. It was also at the same time much neglected by the parent government. The Iroquois, who had urged a destructive war upon the Hurons and Algonquins on the borders of the great lakes, seemed now determined to undermine the power of their allies, the French, and, if practicable, to uproot them from the continent; and hostile bands of their tribes hung upon the borders of the French settlements. They had, in fact, advanced so far as to massacre a number of the settlers on the Island of Montreal, and kept Quebec in a continual state of alarm.

While the colony was in this condition, the Governor requested to be recalled on account of ill health; and in 1661 he was succeeded by the Baron d' Avangour, a man of extraordinary energy and the most inflexible decision. On his

accession to office, the Governor presented to the King of France, who seemed to be ignorant of its actual position and resources, such favorable views of the country as to induce him to order a reinforcement of four hundred troops with the necessary supplies for the Colonists ; and it was probably this fact which saved them from entire destruction. By that timely aid they were placed in a condition to practise agriculture to some extent, which had before been neglected from the fear of the savages.

The Company of New France had entirely failed in fulfilling the objects of their charter. They had neither pushed their settlements far into the interior, nor practised husbandry with any considerable success. At length they surrendered it to the crown, and in 1664 its privileges were transferred to the "Company of the West Indies." The whole policy of the French colony in Canada had, in fact, been injudiciously framed. They had no clearly defined jurisprudence, and were rent into factions composed of the parties of the Governor, the Bishop, and the Jesuits, each of which was anxious to supplant the other in power. The state of colonial morals was necessarily loose, because a portion of the emigrants was taken from the idle and corrupt classes in France. A council, however, was soon constituted for the administration of its affairs, comprised of the Governor-General, Intendant-General, the Bishop, and some others, who were removable at the will of the Governor ; and the superior of the Jesuits presided at this council while sitting as a Court of Justice. Forts were erected on the principal streams in Canada, where it was thought they might be required in order to keep the Iroquois in check, and in 1668 the affairs of the French interest in Canada seem to have been much improved. Reinforcements had arrived from the West Indies, and a number of officers, to whom had been granted lands with the rights of *seigneurs*, settled in the Canadian territory. The colonial morals, however, were not improved by the importation of about three hundred women of licentious character, who were sent out by the French government. These were soon disposed of in marriage.

The Count de Frontenac, a nobleman of distinguished family, and of most arbitrary but energetic character, was soon invested with the administration of the French colonies ; and he made extraordinary efforts to develop the resources of the country, and to build up the scattered colonial establishments. During that period the territory along the lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior, was explored. Compacts of peace were confirmed with the Indian tribes ; a portion of the Hurons were settled at Michilimackinac ; and a party of the Iroquois, who had been converted to the Catholic faith, was established at St. Louis near Montreal. A council of the principal chiefs in that quarter was held at the Falls of St. Mary in Michigan, which resulted in a stipulation that the French should occupy that post ; and a cross was there erected, bearing the arms of France.

Expeditions were also despatched to the more remote west, for the purpose of discovering the resources of the country. In 1672, M. Talon, a former Intendant-general, who had done important service to the French interest by extending its power to the remote points of Canada, concluded, by reports from the Indians, that a great river, called by them the *Michisépée*, flowed from the extreme north-west in a southern course ; and he soon projected an enterprise for its discovery. For that object he employed M. Joliet, a merchant of Quebec, and Father Joseph Marquette,* a native of Laon in Picardy, descended from a family of distinguished influence abroad, who had travelled far into the Indian territory, and from his office as a missionary, was qualified to gain the confidence of the savages, to advance into that quarter on an exploratory tour. The party soon proceeded to Lake Michigan. Crossing the country to the river Wisconsin, they descended that stream until they reached the Mississippi. Floating down the river in a canoe, they soon arrived at certain villages of the Illinois Indians, where they were treated with much hospitality by the savages. They afterwards passed over to Arkansas. Being convinced that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico, they were obliged to return, from the exhausted state of their

* Charlevoix

provisions, and having ascended the Mississippi to its confluence with the Illinois, they paddled up that stream, and crossed over to Michigan. At this place they separated; Joliet returned to Quebec, and Father Marquette remained among the Indians.

In 1678 Robert de la Salle, accompanied by the Chevalier Tonti, arrived at Quebec. He had previously resided in Canada, where he had cultivated a friendship with M. de Frontenac, and he soon embarked in the enterprise of discovery. Associated with Father Louis Hennepin, a Flemish Recollet, and M. Tonti, he employed a portion of his time in exploring the country, forming amicable leagues with the savages, and prosecuting the fur trade. The party remained during the winter of that year at Fort Niagara, which he founded. In the summer, building the first ship which ever navigated Lake Erie, called the Griffin, they sailed across that lake, and passed up to Michilimackinac. Hennepin traversed the greater part of Illinois, and reaching the Mississippi, ascended that stream to the Falls of St. Anthony, which he named. There he was taken prisoner by the Indians, robbed, and carried to their villages. Hennepin, however, soon made his escape; and returning to the colonies, he embarked for France, where he published a journal of his travels. About three years were spent by these intrepid adventurers in crossing the vast wilderness around the lakes, and encountering the most formidable dangers and hardships. On the 2d of February, 1682, La Salle reached the Mississippi River, arrived at Arkansas, of which he took a formal possession in the name of the King of France, and proceeded onward, until the expanding surface of its waters showed where it met the blue of the ocean through the Gulf of Mexico. The glorious news of the discovery of the mouth of the Mississippi, which had long been a desirable object to the French Government, opened a fresh channel of hope to the Canadian colony.

The progress of La Salle through those immense regions was attended with remarkable and touching incidents. Disappointed in his progress, from not having received supplies

from Green Bay, he was obliged to encamp on the banks of the Illinois, where he built a fort, which, from that circumstance he named *Creve Cœur*, the Broken Heart. Although he had found the great body of the tribes along his course friendly, and had purchased from them a large quantity of corn, he met some obstruction from the nation of the Illinois. These, in common with many of the Lake tribes, were at that time at war with the Iroquois, and the former expected the assistance of the French ; but from prudential motives this aid was not granted. La Salle, indeed, considered the termination of the war as essential to his safety. The pacific policy which he advocated was construed into treachery by the suspicion of the Illinois, aided by the perfidy of some of his own men ; and he was, in formal council, sentenced to death. Here broke forth the courage of his character. Unarmed, he applied to the camp of the Illinois, defended his conduct, declared his innocence of the charges alleged against him, demanded the author, and vindicated the propriety of terminating the war. His boldness and eloquence prevailed. The calumet was smoked, and a treaty of peace concluded. The death of this distinguished explorer of the Mississippi was inglorious. When he had traversed that river, erected several forts on its banks, named Louisiana in honor of the French king ; after he had laid the foundations of Kaskaskia, and Kahokia in Illinois, and departed for France in order to fit out expeditions for a permanent colonial establishment at its mouth near the present site of New Orleans, he was assassinated by his own *engages*, while on his way over land for his fort upon the Illinois, on the 19th of March, 1687. "Thus fell," says Father Hennepin, his eloquent companion and eulogist, "the Sieur de la Salle, a man of considerable merit, constant in adversity, intrepid, generous, courteous, ingenious, learned, and capable of every thing. He had formerly been of the society of Jesus for ten or eleven years, and quitted the order with consent of his superiors. He once showed me a letter written at Rome by the General of the order, testifying that the Sieur de la Salle had behaved himself prudently in

every thing, without giving the least occasion to be suspected guilty of a venial sin.”*

What a contrast is presented, in the solitary condition of the Mississippi at the period when la Salle descended that stream, one hundred and forty-five years ago, and the present time ! The Amazon of the North American wilderness and the great highway of western commerce, stretching its broad expanse thousands of miles longitudinally, through the whole length of the inhabitable territory of the west, from the cold regions of the north—the land of the grizzly bear, which delights to live among the snows—to the hot clime of Louisiana, the domain of the alligator and the cotton plantation, where few but slaves venture contact with the burning rays of the sun, it waters the widest and richest valley on the earth. To that remote region, where sickly exhalations rise from the stagnant fens and mouldering forests, and fill the graves along its banks, emigration is fast pressing. Cities are studding its shores. Harvests are gilding its fields. Its waters are ploughed by a thousand keels of boatmen, loving life less than gain. Hundreds of steamboats, laden with rich freight for New Orleans, the metropolis of its trade, not exceeded in magnitude and splendor by those of the eastern states, shoot up its rapid current ; and means are now in progress which will soon float the commerce of the North-western lakes, in a continuous line of navigation, through its channel to the Atlantic.†

* For Hennepin's account of La Salle's expedition, see *Archæologia Americana*, where it is contained at length.

† A project will be soon carried out, to connect the Fox river of Green Bay, with the Wisconsin and the Mississippi.

CHAPTER II.

Administration of Denonville—Iroquois prisoners sent in chains to the French Galleys—Policy of Kondiaronk—Character of the Colonists—The Jesuits—Canadian Jurisprudence—Fur Traders—Coureurs des Bois—Distribution of Lands—Commerce and Agriculture—Currency—Social Condition of Canada.

IN 1683 the population of the Canadian colonies did not exceed nine thousand. The principal check to their progress sprang from the hostility of the Iroquois, who, from time to time, hovered around their settlements, seeking every opportunity for massacre and devastation. The Marquis of Denonville was, however, soon appointed Governor-general, and he proceeded immediately to Cataraqui, with about two thousand troops. From the spirit of uncompromising hatred which was evinced by the Iroquois towards the French, Denonville was determined to strike a decisive blow. An order was accordingly received to condemn to the galleys all able-bodied warriors of those tribes who were taken prisoners; and, to the black disgrace of Denonville, a number of the Iroquois chiefs were decoyed by the Jesuit de Lamberville to Fort Frontenac, loaded with irons, and sent to the galleys of Marseilles.

About that period a treaty was signed at London between France and England, by which it was stipulated that whatever differences might arise between the two governments abroad, neutral relations should be preserved by their subjects in North America. Notwithstanding that treaty, and the remonstrances of the Governor of New-York, who claimed the Iroquois as English subjects, Denonville determined to build a fort at Niagara in their own territory, when the passions of the Iroquois were maddened against the French from the fact that their chiefs had been seized by stratagem and sent in chains to the French galleys. Scarcely, therefore, had the determination been made known, when Fort Frontenac was attacked by the Iroquois, and the corn in the neighborhood

burned. A French barque, laden with provisions, was also captured on Lake Ontario by five hundred of their canoes, and on the side of the French, the Abenagues made a formidable descent upon the Iroquois of the Sorel, and pushed their bloody marches against the English villages toward the east.

During that period a council was held by the Iroquois with Denonville, in which the policy of those tribes was advocated by five hundred of their warriors; while twelve hundred of their armed bands were awaiting the issue near Montreal, ready to fall upon the French settlements, in case a requisition was not complied with, that their chiefs, who had been sent to the galleys of France, should be returned to the wilderness.

The ratification of a treaty was, however, prevented by the deep policy of Kondiaronk, or Le Rat, a Huron chief, among the first in council and in arms. Kondiaronk disliked the French, but he considered their alliance as useful in aiding him against the Iroquois, towards whom he had sworn eternal war. He also hated the English as the allies of the Iroquois; but he found it profitable to maintain the semblance of goodwill toward the latter nation so long as he could sell his furs to them with more advantage than to the French.

At this crisis occurred a singular fact, which completely changed the policy of the Indian tribes. The alliance of Denonville had been accepted by Kondiaronk, on condition that the French should give their aid in the destruction of the Iroquois. Acting on this assurance, the chief left Michilimackinac, on the northern part of the peninsula of Michigan, with a hundred warriors, in order to attack their camps. At fort Frontenac, he was informed by Denonville that a treaty of peace had been made with the Iroquois, and that it was necessary that he should return to Michigan with his warriors. "The request is reasonable," said Kondiaronk, while his eye kindled with rage that he had not been advised of the ratification of the treaty with the Iroquois, and that the league made with him by the French had been broken.

Instead, therefore, of returning to Michilimackinac, he repaired to the "cascades," about thirty miles above Montreal,

where it was ascertained that the Iroquois deputies would pass with their hostages. Here he laid for some days in ambush with his warriors. The deputies soon arrived with forty young savages, and as they landed from their canoes, Kondiaronk took them by surprise, massacred a part, and made the remainder prisoners. At the same time he informed the captured Iroquois, that he was directed by the French Governor to occupy that position, and to attack a party of Iroquois who were expected to advance that way for the purpose of descending upon the French settlements, and to conduct the prisoners to Montreal. The Iroquois were, of course, amazed, for they deemed themselves to have been the victims of perfidy. Having related the object of their mission to Kondiaronk, who feigned astonishment, and alleged that he also had been the subject of treachery, the Iroquois prisoners were released, with ammunition sufficient to defend themselves on their way back, while their hearts were filled with gratitude at the humanity of the Hurons, and they vowed eternal war against the French. One prisoner of the Iroquois was, however, retained, with whom Kondiaronk returned to Michilimackinac; and the French commandant at that post, ignorant of the proceedings of Denonville, condemned this prisoner to be shot.

An aged Iroquois slave, who belonged to Kondiaronk, was permitted to witness the execution of his countryman, while the circumstances were withheld from his knowledge. This Iroquois slave was then told to go back to his tribes, and relate the barbarous perfidy of the French. The anger of the Iroquois was, of course, raised to the highest pitch. M. Denonville, when he heard of the act, declared that if Kondiaronk was taken, he should be executed; while the Iroquois were still expected to consummate the league. But the convictions fastened upon the minds of the Iroquois by Kondiaronk were not to be removed. When, therefore, they reached Montreal, where the Governor was waiting their arrival, they came not, as Denonville expected, with the calumet and the belt of wampum—emblems of peace. A band of twelve hundred warriors landed on the upper end

of the island, burned the houses and corn-fields, massacred men, women, and children, cut in pieces about a hundred regular troops and fifty Hurons who were sent to defend the entrance to the town, took two hundred prisoners, and then embarked in their canoes. The impression which had been stamped on their minds by Kondiaronk could not be effaced, and their revenge was fully glutted with the blood of the French at subsequent periods. This masterpiece of savage policy turned the current of French plans and prospects—a policy which, in blackness and diplomatic address, rivals the basest intrigue of a civilized court.

The French government, after it had once obtained a foothold in Canada, pushed its enterprises into the interior ; and the progress of its settlements was attended with all the sufferings connected with the enmity of the Iroquois and the hardships of a trackless wilderness. The colonies which had been sent out from France, were comprised mainly of gentlemen in narrow circumstances, to whom lordships had been granted, a large number of adventurers of humbler pretensions, somewhat volatile and thriftless in their character, and missionaries of the Roman Church. There were three prominent and distinct orders in the religious establishments of Canada. The Jesuits comprised the first, and consisting of gentlemen of influence, whose minds had ripened in the mouldering cloisters of the church, their powers were paramount to all others in the administration of the colonial policy. “ They sought,” says La Hontan, “ to dive down to the bottom of men’s minds.”* Artful, accomplished, learned, polished, they were what the Jesuits have been in every age ; striving to mould the affairs of the colony to their own purposes, and thus to wield a political influence for ecclesiastical ends, they watched, with lynx-eyed vigilance, all the affairs and relations of individuals in the state as well as the church. From their extensive knowledge and address, they devoted themselves to the education of the youth of the colony, so far as they were educated at all , and were the most active agents

* La Hontan’s *Voyages*.

in the exploration of the wilderness. The priests were more local in their habits, and their efforts were mainly confined to the ministrations of the altar; while the Recollets, a very humble class of ecclesiastics, daily practised self-debasement, and assumed vows of perpetual humiliation and poverty. In the more remote settlements, rude log-huts were built and a few fields were cleared. Quebec and Montreal were the central points of colonial enterprise and influence, and into these settlements was transfused something of the character which belonged to the parent government abroad. Slight colonial establishments were erected along the banks of the streams and lakes for a three-fold purpose—trade, religion, and military defence. Small forts, surrounded with pickets, and constructed from the rude means at hand, were built up to protect the Jesuits, who had their chapels near them; and they were also used as depôts of the fur trade.

The wars—which soon broke out between the French and English for the purpose of obtaining the dominion of the country—no less than the hostility of the Iroquois, soon made it advisable to re-appoint the Count de Frontenac to the chief command; and in October of 1689 he arrived at Quebec, with the Iroquois chiefs, who had been sent to the French galleys. Notwithstanding the energy and address of Frontenac, little was effected in securing the friendship of the Five Nations, but more vigorous measures were prosecuted to advance the French settlements, and to secure the cultivation of the lands. At the same time the fur trade was carried on with increased success; and the military posts, which had been established on the upper lakes, were strengthened. In 1698 peace was declared between France and England, and the English and French governors entered into arrangements by which amicable relations were for some time preserved with each other, and also with the Indians.

During the period of the French domination in Canada, its jurisdiction was somewhat extraordinary. Quebec and Montreal were not only the seat of the fur trade, but also of civil, military, and ecclesiastical influence. The machinery of the colonial government was, in fact, made up of the civil magis-

tracy, the military power, and the clergy. Although the *Coûtume de Paris* was adopted as the law of the land, the administration of the colonies was probably founded more upon temporary expediency than clearly defined justice. There is, doubtless, great inconvenience attending the exercise of a compact and well-organized frame of jurisprudence in a new colony, separated from the parent state by three thousand miles of ocean, and over a people scattered through a trackless and unbounded forest. The administration of justice was accordingly unsettled and arbitrary. The commandants of the military posts in the remote points of colonial jurisdiction, were recognized as general supervisors of the colonists around their forts, and they were invested with a summary authority, subject, however, to the colonial government—comprising the legislative, the judicial, and the executive powers. This authority was, however, in most instances exercised with great mildness; and the French of that region look back upon the period as the golden age of jurisprudence.

The French Colonial government was under the general supervision of the Governor-general, the chief magistrate of the country. Subject to his general power, there were also Intendants, under-governors, and a council. The Governor-general of Quebec was allowed an annual salary of twenty thousand crowns, which included the support of a company of guards for his own protection, and also that of the fort. To this sum was added a thousand crowns, which was the annual present made to him by the "Farmers of the Beaver Skins." He also had the disposal of all the military posts, and could bestow commissions on whom he pleased, with the approbation of the King, excepting particular governorships, or the place of a Lord-lieutenant of the province or the mayor of any town. He was also empowered to make certain conditional grants to the inhabitants all over Canada, with the confirmation of the Intendant, to give twenty-five licenses a year to those whom he might select for the purpose of trading with the savages; and his criminal jurisdiction extended to the right of suspending executions against criminals. By this re-

prieve he might procure a pardon.* He was, however, not authorized to dispose of the king's money without the consent of the Intendant, who alone had the power to draw it from the naval treasury. Beside these rights, the Governor-general was invested with certain privileges, among which was the exemption from duty on all his wines and other provisions received from France.

The Supreme Council of Canada was a judicial body, but when any complex question came up before them, they generally required the aid of the Jesuits, who were, without exception, gentlemen of extensive and accurate knowledge. This body had the right of conveying their places to their heirs with the approbation of the king. In making treaties with foreign powers and the Indian tribes, the aid of the Jesuits was also required, because they were in most instances acquainted with the topography of the country, the principles of international law, and they had, moreover, great influence with the Indians. The influence of the Jesuits breathed through every department of the colonial government.

When the Baron La Hontan visited Quebec in 1684, the sovereign council, according to his statement, consisted of twelve counsellors, who constituted the supreme judicature, and decided causes without appeal. At that time no advocates or attorneys appeared in court, and the litigant parties argued their own causes. The result was, that suits were quickly brought to a termination, and no court fees or other charges were demanded. The judges were allowed four hundred livres a year from the crown, and they also "had a dispensation," says La Hontan, "of not wearing the robe and the cap."† Besides these officers, there was also a Lieutenant-general, both civil and military, an Attorney-general, a Chief-Justice in Eyre, and a Grand Provost.‡ The Governor's annual salary was a thousand crowns, which he increased in some degree by engaging in the fur trade. The pay of the inferior officers was small. The mayor of Quebec was allowed a salary of six hundred crowns, the Governor of Mon-

* Charlevoix's Journal.

† La Hontan.

‡ Ibid.

trecent two thousand, the Governor of Trois Rivières a thousand; a captain had a hundred and twenty livres a month, a lieutenant ninety, and a common soldier's pay was six sous a day.

The dazzling hopes of gold and gems in the wilderness having faded from the eyes of the French king, the attention of his colonies in Canada was directed to the fur trade. A large body of adventurous and indigent men, taken from those classes who had no employment at home, had emigrated from France, to invest their energies in the north-western forests, which then abounded in furs of the greatest value. Their trading posts for the prosecution of this traffic were erected on the most prominent avenues in the interior of Canada and upon the lakes, at those points where the Indians were most in the habit of resorting. The wilderness at that time was filled with the fur-bearing animals, and the most valuable kind were beavers. From various causes, springing from the want of system in their operations, so great an amount of peltries was collected at the warehouses, that they could not be disposed of. It appears, indeed, that during the early stages of the French fur trade, there was great improvidence on the part of the colonial government in its prosecution, because the fur-bearing animals were permitted to be killed for amusement without discrimination, and the Indians, who could not appreciate their value, and therefore sold them for trifles, were encouraged to do the same. The necessary consequence was, that the most valuable furs were accumulated at the different posts, and destroyed for want of a market, while the forests were exhausted of that which has since been found a rich source of national wealth. As the French market became glutted with peltries, the merchants declined buying more, and the traders therefore transported a large amount to the English provinces annually, and many had permanent establishments in the province of New-York.

From the class of the traders arose that original body of men, the *Coueurs des Bois*. They consisted of those French emigrants who volunteered their services in the employ of

the large fur companies. Obedient to their employers as sailors to the commanders of their ships, they were accustomed to advance up the northern lakes to Michilimackinac and beyond, to explore the remotest inland streams of the forest, with their large canoes laden with dry goods and trinkets, at places in which they could exchange their manufactured European articles with the Indians for furs. The goods, as well as the licenses for the traffic, were generally procured by the traders from the merchants; and they sold to the merchants their peltries on their return. During each year, the traders having laden their canoes with peltries, swept down the sparkling waters of the lakes to Quebec and Montreal, through the Ottawas River or across the portage at Niagara into Lake Ontario; accompanied by numerous canoes of the Ottawas and the Hurons, who supposed that they could there find a better market for their skins than could be obtained at Michilimackinac. Desertions of the French became frequent; some of the *Coueurs des Bois* absconded to the English posts, and others wandered deep into the forests, and became incorporated with the Indians.

In order to prevent this desertion, a plan was devised by the French Colonial Government, which was humane as well as judicious. This was the granting of licenses to trade to those who were worthy of confidence, and the prohibition of all others from going out of the colony. These licenses were vended to old officers and poor gentlemen, who had the privilege of selling them to the traders, according to their value. The number of these licenses was regulated by the Court, and their distribution belonged to the Governor-general. "Permissions," of more ample character, were also granted from the same source to the commandants of the forts.

As Canada was settled by many indigent noblemen, to whom lands had been granted, these were not exactly the proper persons to advance agriculture. They were, for the most part, officers and gentlemen who had not funds sufficient to maintain the proper workmen upon their domains. It was therefore found necessary to settle the lands of those to whom lordships were given, with tenants who were obliged to labor

hard, and expend all their advances of money before they could procure the necessary subsistence ; while the fur trade, which was the predominating spirit of the times, spread a restless and migratory disposition among the people. Another fact which impeded the progress of agriculture, was the *mode of tenure* in the distribution of lands. The tenants held their farms trammelled with conditions as rigid and illiberal as the *villeins* of the dark ages ; and this, of course, took away all interest of the tenant in the soil, excepting so far as he could benefit himself. The fur trade, moreover, was soon taken out of the hands of the companies by the French king, and almost every body embarked in it. This caused the utmost confusion. As early as 1706 the furs were purchased by the traders in Canada, frequently at a higher price than they could command in France. Such, however, was not the fact in the English colonies along the Atlantic. In that quarter there seems to have been more systematic organization. Their articles for the traffic could be afforded cheaper than those of the French ; their plans were conducted with greater judgment, and the necessary consequence was, that while they were accumulating wealth by the fishery and the fur trade, the French were growing poor.

The condition of commerce and agriculture among the French at that period, when the forests abounded with all the sources of wealth, exhibits strongly the want of national enterprise and enlightened legislation on the part of that government. Had the French Government comprehended the full value of the fertility of the soil, and of the furs which abounded in the wilderness, it might have established penal laws to prevent the wanton destruction of the fur-bearing animals, organised a liberal system of land distribution, which would have furnished motive for exertion to agriculturists, and planted vigorous colonies in this part of the continent, which would have poured a broad stream of wealth upon that empire, and perhaps have perpetuated the dominion of France in this country. It is clear, however, that when none of the precious metals were discovered, it permitted the colonies to pine in comparative neglect and barrenness. Besides the furs

which were annually shipped to France, trade in lumber was prosecuted with the West Indies, and a large amount was sent to those islands.

As the funds for the payment of the officers and soldiers generally arrived from France too late, certain local bills were issued, and these were circulated in the place of coin. By virtue of an ordinance of the Governor and Intendant, this money was made of cards; and its value, the mark of the treasury, and the arms of France were stamped upon it in Spanish wax. Paper money was afterwards struck in France, and impressed the same as the current money. It was ordained that these bills should be returned every year into the Canadian treasury before the annual arrival of the French ships, in order to receive an additional mark and to prevent counterfeits. This paper money was, however, soon disused, and card money substituted, stamped with new impressions. All bills to the value of four livres and upwards were signed by the Intendant; and all below that sum were only marked. At a subsequent period, the Governor-general signed those which were of the value of six livres. During the first weeks of autumn, these bills were carried back to the treasurer, and bills of exchange were received in return. So long as these bills of exchange were paid, the bills were preferred to specie, but they soon ceased to be honored; and in 1713 they had become so depreciated in value, that the inhabitants proposed to lose one half, on condition that the king should cause them to be taken up. This was done in 1717. The paper currency was abolished, and the colonial officers were again paid in current coin.

As early as 1684, the French Colonial establishments in Canada had grown to considerable importance. At that time, according to La Hontan, Quebec exhibited some architectural excellence. There were six churches in the high city, and also a cathedral, over which were a bishop and twelve prebendaries, who resided in the chapter house. It was the headquarters of the Roman church and the rendezvous of the priests, who were, as a general fact, men of correct morals, and contented with the bare necessities of life. Here was

the church of the Jesuits, a massive edifice, with its altar supported by four great columns of black stone, which La Hontan calls "a sort of Canada porphyry." The Jesuit fathers had large and stately apartments, looking out upon grounds adorned with groves and gardens, and containing ice-houses and other means of luxury.* It appears, that at that time the influence of the church, moulded, in a great measure, the policy of the colony; because the directors of the seminary of St. Sulpicius at Paris were proprietors of the Island of Montreal, and had the power of nominating the bailiff and other magistrates; and they had, in fact, previously had the nomination of the Governor. These directors, who were lords, had sent out missionaries to Montreal from time to time, and they lived under the direction of a Superior. They had apartments allotted to them in a large and convenient house, built of free stone, which was constructed on the model of St. Sulpicius at Paris. Cantons on the south side of the island produced a considerable revenue, as the land was fertile, and the inhabitants were rich in agricultural products, for which they found in the city a ready market.

In 1720, Quebec and Montreal had grown to a population of many thousands. It consisted of nobles, nuns, priests, artisans, traders, and soldiers connected with the machinery of the church and state. A polished form of society, instinctive in the French nation, prevailed here. A great portion of their time was spent in amusement, and much wealth was squandered in extravagance. In summer the colonists embarked in parties of pleasure, in their *calashes* or canoes: and in winter they drove their *carioles* upon the snow or skated upon the river. On the annual arrival of the French ships, the colony was enlivened by interesting topics of news from the parent government. Hunting was resorted to by the gentlemen, not only for amusement, but profit. The least rusticity in language or behavior was not perceived, from the bishop to the most obscure menial of the church, from the aristocratic partner to the humble and reckless voyageur of the fur trade.

* La Hontan.

"The Canadians," says Charlevoix, "drew in with their native breath the air of freedom." The agricultural class were contented with their lot, while the *noblesse* of a chivalrous cast of character, boasted of ancestral exploits and exulted in military glory. The French language was spoken with the utmost accuracy and elegance. There were at that time, however, but few rich men in the country, because wealth, which was easily accumulated, was seldom hoarded. The most brilliant assemblies were given at the mansions of those in power. At stated intervals the settlements were enlivened by the traders, returning from the interior posts of the wilderness like mariners from the ocean ; or by savages, who, sweeping down from the clear and brimming waters of the upper lakes, with their canoes laden with beaver skins, would land upon the shores, hold their mercantile carnival in the market-place, and fill the store-houses of the merchants with furs.

The early history of the French domination in Canada is intimately connected with the migrations of the missionaries, the explorations of the traders, and the military expeditions of the French, backed by their Indian confederates, against the Iroquois. The missionaries were regarded by many of the Indians as supernatural beings, jugglers, on whom the destinies of life and death depended ; and strong prejudices were frequently aroused against them on this account, causing the most cruel murders. The Iroquois, as a body, not only disliked the French, but they despised their religion ; and accounts of the massacre and torture of the priests upon the shores of Lake Huron, by their tribes, abound in the old Jesuit journals. On one occasion, boiling water was poured upon the priests in mockery of baptism, while they were grasping the cross for succour ; and red-hot tomahawks were thrown into their flesh when convulsed in the agonies of death.*

We do not design to enter into a minute specification of the military operations of that period. They were mainly confined to expeditions sent out against the English colonies

* Anonymous journal of a Catholic missionary, published in Paris.

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and the Iroquois. The savages, in fact, kept the French in continual consternation, by hovering around their settlements ; and the progress of agriculture and the advance of the colonies were thus in a great measure checked. A council with the Iroquois had been held by the French at Onondaga, which resulted in no permanent league. Numerous expeditions against the English were also sent out upon the borders ; and the massacre of Schenectady, on the 8th of February, 1690, by a body of two hundred Canadians and Indians, who travelled through a wilderness covered with deep snows, to accomplish the most infamous butchery which blackens the annals of modern warfare, was followed by projects on the part of each of the two nations to undermine the power of the other, which however, were not carried out to any stable consequences.

In 1709 England and France being at war, hostilities were re-commenced in their American colonies, which continued until the treaty of Utrecht, in 1712. After this event, peace was enjoyed by the Canadian provinces. This peace was peculiarly fortunate at that period, because, in 1714, there were only about four thousand five hundred men in Canada able to bear arms. Beneficial changes were, however, made in the laws, and the fur trade was prosecuted with vigor. Such were the circumstances in which the colonization of Michigan was commenced.

CHAPTER III.

Colonization of Michigan—Michilimackinac founded—Fort St. Joseph—Fort erected on St. Joseph's River—Indian Council held regarding the post at Detroit—Detroit founded—Early condition of the town—Indian allies of the French—First attack of Detroit by the Ottawas—Second attack of Detroit by the Foxes—Early Travellers through the region of the Lakes—Baron La Hontan—Peter Francis Xavier de Charlevoix.

MICHIGAN was embraced in the Canadian jurisdiction, the prominent features of which have been described. The French settlements, which had been at first confined to the eastern portion of Canada, soon spread upon the north-western lakes, from Detroit to the remotest shores of Lake Superior. They consisted originally of solitary forts, at the point where the city of Detroit now stands ; at the present site of Fort Gratiot ; at Michilimackinac, on the northern part of the peninsula of Michigan ; at St. Marie ; at St. Joseph, on the river of the same name ; at Chicago in Illinois, and at Green Bay, within the organized limits of Wisconsin. These forts were stretched at wide distances along the lake frontier, at those points which commanded the largest tract of country, where the Indians were in the habit of resorting from the fatigues of the chase—and which afforded the most extensive communication by canoes with the inland streams of the forest, and the most secure and convenient navigation across the lakes to the head-quarters of the fur trade, Quebec and Montreal. Constructed of bark or logs, surrounded by pickets, and near the chapel of the Jesuits, the forts were erected not only to protect the trade, but also the ecclesiastics, in their missionary operations among the savages. Michilimackinac, on the peninsula, was one of the oldest forts erected ; and it is of considerable importance as connected with the progress of the fur trade and the military incidents of Michigan. Its foundation was laid by Father Marquette in the year 1671, who induced a party of Hurons to make a settlement at that place, as a nu-

cleus for a future colony. A fort and chapel having been built, it soon grew into great prominence as a trading post, being situated on the grand avenue of commerce, between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, and the most conspicuous rendezvous of the traders, merchants, soldiers, *Coueurs des Bois*, missionaries, and savages of the north-west. As early as 1688 the Ottawas and the Hurons had small villages in the vicinity of the chapel and the fort, separated by a single palisade; and the former nation had commenced building a fortification on a rising ground near that place. Near to the village of the Hurons, the Jesuits had a college, adjoining a chapel, enclosed with pickets, in which they exercised their exertions for the conversion of the Indians. Their efforts for that object were, however, in the main unsuccessful, according to their own acknowledgment; and the utmost limit, to which they could bring the minds of the savages in their cause, was to be permitted to administer the sacrament to their dying children, and to aged Indians just ready to sink into their graves.

The *Coueurs des Bois* had important settlements also at Michilimackinac, as the goods which were to be traded for furs with the Indians at Green Bay, in Illinois, along Lake Superior, and the country upon the banks of the Mississippi, were obliged to remain at that post for some time before they could be transported to the most conspicuous markets. The savages at that post derived their principal subsistence from the fish, which was found in great abundance in the straits and neighboring streams; and it was believed to possess great advantages from the fact that the Iroquois dared not to venture in their canoes to cross the "strait of Lake Huron;" and it was also surrounded by marshes, which prevented their passage by land.* When Charlevoix visited Michilimackinac, in 1721, however, the post had fallen into decay. At that time the fort and missionary establishment were still retained, but the Indians opposed formidable obstacles to the exertions of the Jesuits. The post was subsequently much weakened by the

* La Hontan, vol. 1, p. 88.

diversion of the fur trade, as the northern Indians, who were accustomed to bring their furs to this place, were enticed to Hudson's Bay, where they traded with the English.* The cause assigned for this by Charlevoix was the fact that M. Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, had drawn to that place a great proportion of the Indians, especially the Hurons, who had been settled at Michilimackinac by father Marquette. There was, however, some trade carried on with the savages at that period, and it was a point of general resort by the French, who deemed it necessary to retain a Jesuit at this post for the preservation of the morals of the colonists.†

Soon after the occupation of Michilimackinac, the Sault de St. Marie was founded. Like the other French posts, it was comprised of a fort and chapel in 1688, and was then a favorite point of resort for the traders and savages on their way to Michilimackinac from the forests of Lake Superior. At that place there was then a settlement of Indians, called by the French the *Salteurs*, who procured their subsistence mainly from the fish which abounded at the foot of the rapids.‡ It had been populated for a long period previous to the mission of Charlevoix in 1721 ; and bracelets for the Indians, as well as candlesticks, crosses, and censers, were wrought for the use of the church, by a goldsmith who resided at the village, from the masses of pure copper found there, as well as on the shores of Lake Superior.§

A settlement was also made, at an early period, at Fort Gratiot, which was then called Fort St. Joseph, and a fort was there erected by the *Coueurs des Bois* at the expense of M. Dulbut, and occupied by the French. This fort was soon destroyed ; Fort Niagara had been abandoned to the Iroquois, and, as a measure of precaution, it was burned by the Baron La Hontan, in August 1688, under the order of the Marquis de Denonville, the Governor-general of Canada.

Besides another post somewhere on the river St. Clair, a fort and chapel were also built up by the French on the St. Joseph

* Charlevoix's Journal.

† Ibid, vol. 2, p. 42.

‡ La Hontan, vol. 1, p. 93.

§ Charlevoix's Journal, vol. 2, p. 45.

|| La Hontan, vol. 1, p. 84.

river, the remains of which are still to be seen. The design of these establishments was to extend the dominion of the French. In 1721, this post had a mission, which was protected by a Commandant and a small garrison. The house of the Commandant, called the fort, was surrounded by pickets in the vicinity of three villages—those of the Hurons, Potawatamies, and Miamies, converts of the missionaries, who were stationed at this point during that period. Without the bounds of Michigan, settlements were also made by the French at Green Bay, in the territory of Wisconsin about the year 1670, and also at Chicago in Illinois, for the purposes of religion and trade; and these exhibited the same features with the other posts. Their population was composed of a commandant who was called Governor, Jesuits, soldiers, traders, and savages. The most marked features of these posts were the fort and the chapel, surrounded with small patches of cultivated land, and the wigwams of the Indians. In 1689 Green Bay contained a fort and chapel, which were situated amid the villages of the Sacs, Potawatamies, and Menominees. This place was at that time a rich market for peltries and Indian corn, which the savages sold to the traders as they passed to and from the Mississippi.*

The English and French having embarked as rivals in the fur trade, it became an important object with the former nation to secure its share of the traffic of the north-western lakes. Accordingly, a trading expedition of the English arrived at Michilimackinac in 1686, through the connivance of the Ottawagies or Fox Indians, who then occupied the banks of the Detroit River. These tribes had been for a long time unfriendly to the French, and the English had exercised their policy to strengthen the friendship of the Foxes for their own cause, by frequent messages and valuable presents. At that period, no permanent settlement had been made at Detroit, because the French had a more direct and safer route to the upper lakes, from Montreal to Michilimackinac, through the Ottawas or Grand River.

* La Hontan, vol. 1, p. 105.

The post of Detroit had long been regarded as a valuable point of settlement for the fur trade, inasmuch as it commanded a broad tract of country, across the peninsula even to the banks of the Mississippi, and furnished a direct channel of navigation to the English colonies in New-York by the way of Lake Erie. While the English were looking with eager eyes to the acquisition of a post on the Detroit River, they were anticipated by their rivals the French. Taking counsel by the movements of the English, and determined themselves to establish a post at this place, they had adopted the precaution to call a grand council at Montreal for the purpose of negotiating a treaty to that effect. This council was one of great pomp, and was comprised of chiefs of the different tribes from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, the Governor-general of Canada, and the most prominent *seigneurs* of the country. It was the most imposing assemblage which had ever collected in the wilderness. At this council, the grounds on which the two nations based their claims to the country were discussed, as well as their relations to the several hordes. The complaints and wishes of the two claimants were also thoroughly weighed. In this discussion, the Iroquois alleged that they had understood that the French were about to erect a post upon the Detroit River, and opposed the measure ; because they said the country belonged to them, and they had before prohibited the English from making an establishment at that point.

To these remarks of the Iroquois, the Governor-general of Canada replied, that the country belonged neither to the Indians or the English, but to the King of France ; and that there was an expedition already on the march for the purpose of establishing a colony on the banks of the Detroit. In accordance with this determination, Antoine de la Motte Cadillac, Lord of Bouaget and Montdesert, and commandant for the king at Detroit, acting under a commission from Louis XIV. and being granted fifteen acres square, left Montreal in June, 1701, with one hundred men, a Jesuit missionary, and all the necessary means for the erection of a colony ; and reached Detroit in July of the same year, where they commenced the

foundation of the settlements.* Before that period Detroit had not been unknown. As far back as 1620 it was the resort of the French Missionaries, and when first visited by the French, its present site was occupied by an Indian village named Teuchsa Grondie.†

These traders and missionaries had, however, made no permanent establishment at this place, but encamped at that point as a convenient resting ground in their journeys through the wilderness upon the lakes. As early as 1637 a mission had been sent out among the Hurons near the Detroit River, but no permanent settlement was made. The colony of Cadillac, however, came prepared with all the means of colonization. A rude fort was erected, and surrounded with pickets, which enclosed a few houses occupied by the French traders and the soldiers attached to the post. This establishment was, however, rude, frail, and mounted with small cannon, which were more adapted to overawe the Indians than for solid and effective defence.

While the French settlements were thus extended along the frontier of Michigan, they were surrounded by powerful savage confederates in the Algonquin tribes along the lakes. Among these were the agricultural race of the Ottawas, scattered in their villages through the forest; the Hurons, a horde which seems to have been most inclined to religion, and consequently most willing to encourage the exertions of the Jesuit missionaries; the Potawatamies, the Menominees of Green Bay, and the numerous and savage bands of Chippewas, living upon the shores of Lake Superior, obtaining subsistence from the fish of the lakes; a nation who had seldom seen the white man; wild as the deer of their woods, and unbending as their granite mountains. These were the stock, who, in Michigan, during an early period, had leagued themselves with the French, while the Foxes, of Iroquois descent, residing along the banks of the Detroit River, adhered to the English cause, and soon made their power felt against the French settlements.

* Cass's Discourse.

† Colden's Five Nations.

The two Indian confederacies, the Iroquois and Algonquins, who had attached themselves to the French and English governments, while their causes of alliance are not clearly known, were equally capricious and unstable in the leagues which they had formed. They had, perhaps, attached themselves to these two rival powers, not so much from any strong friendship which they felt for the white men, as to increase their influence in battering down the power of their savage enemies, whom they hated with an intensity based on immemorial fends, and which had been strengthening for ages.

During the third year after Detroit was founded, the Indians in that quarter were invited to Albany, probably with a view to negotiations with the English government. It was, doubtless, the policy of those colonies to disaffect them. A number of the Ottawa chiefs visited that place, and they returned with altered feelings.* During that visit they were persuaded by the English, who still desired to obtain possession of the post, that the French settlements on the Lakes were designed to wrest the dominion of the country from their hands, and, acting on this conviction, they set fire to the town. The fire was, however, discovered before any serious injury was done. About the same time another party of the Ottawas, having returned from a successful expedition against the Iroquois, flushed with victory, paraded themselves in hostile array in front of the fort, and endeavored to induce the other Indians to join them in its demolition. M. de Tonti was then the French commandant. The Sieur de Vincennes was accordingly despatched for the purpose of dispersing their hostile bands, and he succeeded in defeating and putting them to flight. In the hurry of their departure, they abandoned to the French the Iroquois prisoners whom they had captured, and these were sent back to the Iroquois tribes.

At the same time, three villages of friendly Indians were established in the vicinity of Detroit, some of whom had been brought by Cadillac from Michilimackinac. A Huron settlement had been made on the banks of the river, about half a

* Cass's Discourse.

mile below the city of Detroit; a Potawatamie village was founded on the same side, and a village of the Ottawas had been erected above the town, on the Canadian shore of the stream.

The small settlements in Michigan, upon the lakes, continued in quietude until the year 1712. Jesuit missionaries were from time to time sent out from Quebec and Montreal to the lake posts, to perform their offices among the savages; and additional security was extended to Michilimackinac, St. Joseph, and other French posts in this quarter. It appears, that whatever might have been the assumption on the part of the French in making their settlement at Detroit, the right of domain to the land had been before acknowledged to be vested in the Indians; because it is well known that before any permanent settlement was made on the lakes, M. Perrot, a French explorer, had visited the nations in that quarter, and the Indians afterwards sent deputies to meet the sub-delegate of the Intendant of New France at the Falls of St. Marie. In accordance with negotiations there made with the Indians, it was determined that the French should occupy that point in the name of their king, and, as a seal of the agreement, a cross was erected, bearing the arms of France.* This occurred previous to the settlement of Michilimackinac.

The Iroquois had occasionally sent out marauding parties against the French and Indians upon the lakes, and the Jesuits had been murdered with the most savage cruelty by their wandering bands. During the month of May, 1712, the Ottagamies or Foxes, who were then comparatively obscure, but who, it appears, were in secret alliance with the Iroquois, perfected a plan to demolish the town of Detroit. They were, doubtless, induced to do this by the Five Nations backed by the English, who wished to destroy this post and erect a fort of their own on its ruins. Arrangements were accordingly made for that object in silence and darkness. The Indians were noticed at that time congregating, under various pretences, around the fort, which was garrisoned by a small force of

* M'Gregor's British America.

twenty French soldiers. M. Du Buisson was commandant. The occupants of the three Indian villages at Detroit, the Potawatamies, the Ottawas, and the Hurons, were at that time absent on a hunting party ; and those were the only friendly savages on whom he could safely depend for aid. The plan which had been secretly devised for the destruction of the fort of Detroit was disclosed by a convert of their tribes, who had adopted the Catholic faith, before it was ripe for execution ; and M. Du Buisson immediately sent despatches through the wilderness, to call in the aid of the friendly Indians, and commenced preparing the fort for a vigorous and effectual defence.

On the 13th of May, the attack of Detroit was commenced by the Foxes.* At this juncture, and when their aid was most required, the Indians friendly to the French appeared through the wilderness, naked, painted, and armed for battle, and the gates of the fort were opened for their reception. Entering the council-house, they had an interview with Du Buisson, and repeated their friendship for the French, and their determination to die in defence of the fort.

The Foxes, having perceived the arrival of the friendly Indians, retreated to the eastern boundary of the city of Detroit, where they entrenched themselves within their camp, for the purpose of future action. In order to drive them from that post, a block-house was erected by the French, which commanded their position.† Here they were attacked with great vigor, and cut off from all supply of water by the constant fire which was poured upon them by the forces of the French and their savage allies. Their provisions were soon exhausted ; and, driven to despair by thirst and famine, they issued from their camp and from having been the besieged, they became the besiegers. Rushing out upon the French, they succeeded in acquiring the possession of a house near the fort of Detroit. From this house, which they fortified, they attacked the French, but were again dislodged by the cannon, and driven back to their former intrenchment.

Finding that their attempt to undermine the French post

* Cass's Discourse.

† Ibid.

was likely to be unsuccessful, the Foxes sent a deputation to the French Commandant, with pacific overtures; but as no confidence was placed in their promises, the capitulation was rejected. This tended only to increase their rage and indignation. They now deemed themselves insulted, and, under the influence of a determined and desperate revenge, they discharged showers of blazing arrows upon the fort. The lighted matches which had been affixed to the arrows, coming in contact with many of the roofs of the houses, which were thatched with straw, kindled them into flame, until the precaution was taken to cover the rest with wet skins; and by that means they were preserved.

M. Du Buisson was almost discouraged by the desperation of the Foxes, and had nearly determined to evacuate the post, and retire to Michilimackinac, when he was dissuaded from that act by the friendly Indians, who promised to increase their efforts to dislodge the Foxes. When the preparations for the second attack had been concluded, the war-song and the war-dance finished, the savages returned to their posts and re-commenced the onset upon the Foxes with increased fury. It was successful. A constant and unerring fire was poured upon their intrenchments, which were soon heaped with the dying and the dead.

A capitulation was again demanded. Before any negotiation was effected, however, the Foxes retreated into that portion of the peninsula of Michigan which advances into Lake St. Clair, where they intrenched themselves. This abandonment was made at night, during a storm, without discovery, and on the nineteenth day of the siege.

As soon as this escape was made known, they were pursued by the Indian allies, aided by the French, and attacked in their camp. On the first action, the Foxes gained considerable advantage, and repulsed the French and Indians, who had attacked them without sufficient precaution and judgment. Another and more successful method was soon adopted to dislodge them from that position. About four days were occupied by the French for that object; a field battery was erected, and the entrenchment of the Foxes soon fell, battered

down by the French cannon on the fifth day of that siege. Entering the works in arms, the allies and French commenced a deadly slaughter upon the Foxes, destroyed about a thousand of their warriors, while the women and children, whose lives they spared, were divided as slaves among the French confederates.

The discomfited bands of the Foxes, at war with every power, civilized and savage, in this quarter, the Ishmaelites of the American wilderness, soon after collected their scattered bands on the banks of the Fox River of Green Bay. Here they commanded the country between the lakes and the Mississippi, so that no travellers could pass through their territory unless they were in large bodies, and armed; while their warriors were sent out into the forest to seek objects of butchery and devastation. The predatory spirit of these hordes caused great alarm to the French missionaries and traders. So great apprehension, indeed, was entertained by the French interest from their hostility, and so great injury had already been done by those tribes, that an expedition was fitted out against them by the French, backed by Indian allies, most of whom had solid ground of revenge against the Foxes. These tribes had selected a strong-hold on the banks of the Fox River, now called by the French *Butté des Morts*, THE HILL OF THE DEAD. That position was secured by a deep ditch and three courses of palisades. At this place they collected their women and children, and prepared for a desperate defence. The fort was so strong, that De Louvigny, the commandant of the expedition, declined a sudden attack, and prepared for a formal siege. Advancing by a gradual progress to a proper position for undermining the works, he was preparing for the final result, when terms of capitulation were proposed and accepted. The warriors who had survived the siege were spared. After this event, the pride of the Ottagamis was humbled, and they sunk into obscurity during the remainder of the French war.

The few scattered posts of Michigan, at that time without any separate organization of colonial government, such as prevailed in the English colonies at this period, exhibit no

connected sequence of prominent events. They were a part of the Canadian domain, inhabited by wandering hordes of savages and migratory traders, whose operations had reference to the fur trade, and whose head-quarters were at Quebec and Montreal. To the French soldiers and Jesuits who were sent into that region, the freshness and magnificence of the scenery spread out the most glowing visions. From the metropolis of refinement and the arts, the depository of most that was valuable in sculpture, painting, and architecture, they were transferred to a trackless wilderness, where all was uncultivated nature. If their reflections were somewhat tinged with romance, the scenes which surrounded them were eminently calculated to call forth that spirit.

The vast alluvion, stretching from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, displayed a bountiful tract of fertile soil, adorned with the richest vegetation, and watered by sparkling streams—those blue veins of the globe which circulate life and vigor through every part of its system. Inland seas rolled along like oceans through the wilderness. Herds of deer, elk, and buffalo, wandered through the plains, fed on the islands of the rivers, or drank at the rivulets of the oak-lands. Fish of the greatest value and abundance glided through the waves; flocks of water-fowl wheeled their course along the shores, or dipped in the current; and snow-white gulls skimmed the surface, or were tossed on the crest of the billows. The adventurers, in advancing along the islands in Lake Erie, the Detroit River, and river St. Clair, saw all around them a glorious scene of waters and forests, as yet untouched by the hand of civilization, and inhabited by savages as strange as their own wilderness. Upon the frontier of Michigan, dense woods of lofty trees extended across a belt of fifteen miles, over a level surface, sometimes almost inundated by heavy rains, now expanding into splendid tracts of scenery, and now broken by dismal swamps. Grape-vines, of large size, hung pendant from the boughs of the trees, or clustered around their enormous trunks. As the travellers advanced into the interior, across that belt, through Indian trails, a more beautiful scene opened before them. The country be-

gan to swell into graceful undulations and mound-like hills—covered, as far as the eye could reach, with groves of oak, free of undergrowth, like extended parks—or to expand in rich prairies and crystal lakes. Luxuriant flowers, of various and gorgeous colors, which now eminently mark the forest scenery of Michigan, covered the whole surface of the ground. It seemed as if nature, amid the solitude, fresh in her virgin bloom, had adorned her bosom with the fragrant roses of spring in honor of her Maker ; and, vain of her charms, had set these lakes upon the landscape, as watery mirrors, to reflect her own beauty. It was such scenes which colored the descriptions of the French travellers through that region.

The Baron La Hontan,* a soldier of great accomplishments, who travelled through the lakes about the year 1688, thus describes lake Erie :

“The Lake Erie is justly dignified with the illustrious name of Conti, for assuredly 'tis the finest upon earth. You may judge of the goodness of the climate from the latitude of the countries that surround it.

“Its circumference extends to two hundred and thirty leagues ; but it affords every where such a charming prospect, that its banks are decked with oak trees, elms, chesnut trees, walnut trees, apple trees, plum trees, and vines which bear their fine clusters up to the very tops of the trees, upon a sort of ground that lies as smooth as one's hand. Such ornaments as these are sufficient to give rise to the most agreeable idea of a landscape in the world. I cannot express what vast quantities of deer and turkies are to be found in these woods, and in the vast meads that lie upon the south side of the lake. At the bottom of the lake we find wild beeves, upon the banks of two pleasant rivers that disembogue into it without cataracts or rapid currents. It abounds with sturgeon and white fish, but trouts are very scarce in it, as well as the other fish that we take in the lakes of Hurons and Illinese. 'Tis clear of shelves, rocks, and banks of sand ; and has fourteen or fifteen fathom water. The savages as-

* La Hontan's *Voyages*—a rare work, filled with antique plates, illustrative of savage life, and published in Europe, may be found in our American libraries.

sure us that it is never disturbed by high winds, except in the months of December, January, and February, and even then but seldom; which I am very apt to believe, for we had very few storms when I wintered in my fort in 1688; though the fort lay open to the lake of Hurons. 'The banks of this lake are commonly frequented by none but warriors, whether the Iroquese, the Illinese, the Onnamis, &c.; and 'tis very dangerous to stop there. By this means it comes to pass that the stags, roe-bucks, and turkies, run in great bodies up and down the shore, all around the lake. In former times the Errieronons* and the Andastogueronous lived upon the confines of the lake; but they were extirpated by the Iroquese as well the other nations marked on the map.'†

Peter Francis Xavier de Charlevoix, the polished Jesuit and accomplished historian of New France, having been commissioned by the French Government, passed through this region in 1721, and he breaks out in the following eloquent and glowing terms, descriptive of the country; addressed to the Dutchesse de Lesdiguierès, as he coasted along the bank of Lake Erie:

"The first of June being the day of Pentecost, after having sailed up a beautiful river for the space of an hour, which has its rise, as they say, at a great distance, and runs betwixt two fine meadows, we passed over a carrying-place of about sixty paces in breadth, in order to avoid turning round a point, which is called the Long Point. It is a very sandy spot of ground, and naturally bears a great quantity of vines. The following days I saw nothing remarkable, but coasted along a charming country, hid, at times, by very disagreeable prospects, which, however, are of no great extent. Wherever I went ashore I was enchanted by the beauty and variety of a landscape, which was terminated by the noblest forests in the whole world. Add to this, that every part of it swarms with water-fowl. I cannot say whether the woods afford game in

* Notwithstanding the account by Hennepin, it is fairly to be inferred that Lake Erie derives its name from this tribe.

† *New Voyages to North America*, by the Baron La Hontan, Lord-lieutenant of the French colony at Placentia in Newfoundland, vol. 1, page 217.

equal profusion ; but I well know that on the south side there is a prodigious quantity of buffaloes. Were we all to sail, as I then did, with a serene sky, in a most charming climate, and in water as clear as that of the purest fountain ; were we sure of finding every where secure and agreeable places to pass the night in, where we might enjoy the pleasure of hunting at a small expense, breathe at our ease the purest air, and enjoy the prospect of the finest countries in the universe ; we might possibly be tempted to travel to the end of our days. I recalled to mind those ancient patriarchs who had no fixed place of abode, who lived in tents, who were in a manner the masters of all the countries they passed through, and who enjoyed, in peace and tranquillity, all their productions without the plague inevitable in the possession of a real and fixed estate. How many oaks represented to me that of Mamre ! How many fountains put me in mind of that of Jacob ! Each day a new situation, chosen at pleasure, a neat and commodious house built and furnished with all necessaries in less than a quarter of an hour, and floored with a pavement of flowers, continually springing up on a carpet of the most beautiful green ; on all sides simple and natural beauties, unadulterated and inimitable by any art.”*

In advancing towards Detroit, Charlevoix remarks :

“It is pretended that this is the finest part of all Canada ; and really, if we can judge by appearances, nature seems to have denied it nothing which can contribute to make a country delightful. Hills, meadows, fields, lofty forests, rivulets, fountains, rivers ; and all of them so excellent in their kind, and so happily blended, as to equal the most romantic wishes. The lands, however, are not equally proper for every kind of grain, but most of them are of a wonderful fertility ; and I have known some produce good wheat for eighteen years running, without any manure ; and besides, all of them are proper for some particular use. The islands seem placed on purpose for the pleasure of the prospect ; the river and lake abound in fish, the air is pure ; and the climate temperate and extremely wholesome.”†

* Charlevoix's Journal, vol. 2, page 2.

† Ibid, vol. 2, page 6.

After describing the general location and character of the Indians along the banks of the river near Detroit, and the advantages of that position as the site of a town, the jealousy which, at this early period, existed between the French and English in obtaining the dominion of the country is exhibited in the subjoined remarks. His design was to remove the objections which had been urged to a large settlement at Detroit from its proximity to British influence. "As for what has been said, that by making a settlement at the Narrows we should bring the fur trade too much within reach, there is not a man in Canada who does not agree that we can never succeed in hindering the Indians from carrying them their commodities, let them be settled where they will, and with all the precautions we can possibly take, except by causing them to find the same advantage in trading with us as in the province of New-York." Charlevoix gives an interesting description of a council of the chiefs of the three villages which were near Detroit. Its first object was to persuade the chiefs of the three villages to prohibit the selling of brandy to their tribes, and the second point was to combine these tribes with the French in a war against the Foxes. He was struck with the splendid and dignified eloquence of the Huron and Potawatamie chiefs, in which they expatiated upon the evil consequences of that stimulant upon the Indian tribes; but at the same time they affirmed that the French might use their pleasure in selling the Indians brandy;* and that they had done well, had they not supplied them with *any*; but that they had become so accustomed to it, they could no longer be without it. In regard to the second point, it was concluded that nothing could be determined in reference to a war with the Foxes, until there was a general council of all the nations who acknowledged Onondio (the Indian name of the French king) for their father. They doubted not that the war might be deemed necessary; but the Indians would probably have but little confidence in the

* Numerous discussions had before been held between the ecclesiastics and M. de Frontenac, as well as the Baron d'Avangour, regarding the propriety of selling ardent spirits to the Indians; and the Jesuits finally prevailed in abolishing the practice.

French, who had once before united with them in exterminating a common enemy, but who had made peace with them before they had consulted their allies.

The Ottawas took no part in the discussions, but they seemed to coincide in the deliberations of the council.

“ On the 7th of June, which was the day of my arrival at the fort (Detroit), Mons. de Tonti, who commands here, assembled the chiefs of these villages I have just mentioned, to communicate to them the orders he had received from the Marquis de Vandreuil. They heard him calmly and without interruption. When he had done speaking, the orator of the Hurons told him, in a few words, that they were going to consult about what he had proposed to them, and would give him their answer in a short time. It is the custom of the Indians not to give an immediate answer on an affair of any importance. Two days afterwards, they assembled at the Commandant's, who was desirous I should be present at this council, together with the officers of the garrison. Sasteratfi, whom the French call king of the Hurons, and who is, in fact, hereditary chief of the Tionnontatez, who are the true Hurons, was also present on this occasion, but as he is still a minor, he came only for form's sake ; his uncle, who governs in his name, and who is called regent, spoke in quality of orator of the nation. Now, the honor of speaking in the name of the whole, is generally given to some Huron when any of them happen to be of the council. The first view of their assemblies gives you no great idea of the body. Imagine to yourself, madame, half a score savages, almost stark naked ; with their hair disposed in as many different manners as there are persons in the assembly, and all of them equally ridiculous ; some with laced hats, all with pipes in their mouths, and with the most unthinking faces. It is, besides, a rare thing to hear one utter so much as a single word in a quarter of an hour, or to hear any answer made, even in monosyllables ; not the least mark of distinction nor any respect paid to any person whatsoever. *We should, however, be apt to change our opinion of them upon hearing the result of their deliberations.*”*

* Charlevoix's Journal, vol. 2, p. 8.

CHAPTER IV.

Character of the French colonists in Michigan—Merchants—Coureurs des Bois—Half-breeds—The Peasantry—Legal Administration—Policy of the French Government—Indian Mythology of the Lakes—Land Distribution—Colonization increased—Fur Trade on the lakes.

THE French emigrants scattered along the lake frontier of Michigan, previous to the year 1760, were chiefly from the provinces of Picardy and Normandy in France. Without aspiring to the aristocratic rank of the noblesse, who had congregated in the region of Quebec and Montreal, they were accustomed to reverence the authority which had before been exercised over them under the French monarchy in their native land. The French colonies upon the shores of Michigan had been founded for the purpose of extending the dominion and prosecuting the fur trade into the Indian territory. The Frenchmen who were sent out from the head-quarters of the colonial government, were expected to undergo the hardships of the forest in accomplishing these objects; and they consisted of the commandants of the posts, merchants, Jesuits, priests, traders, soldiers, and the peasantry. A small part of the population was local. The inhabitants belonged to a system of machinery in religion and trade, which was constantly being moved from post to post.

The most prominent individuals at the trading posts, besides the commandants, were the French merchants, who generally had their houses near the forts, and the half-breeds, the offspring of the rangers of the woods, and the Indians. The old French merchant at his post was the head man of his settlement. Careful, frugal, without much enterprise, judgment, or rigid virtue, he was employed in procuring skins from the Indians or traders in exchange for manufactured goods. In the absence of any better frame of government, the merchants were revered as the patrons of their settlement. Their policy was to exercise their influence with paternal mildness, so

as to prevent rebellion, to keep on good terms with the Indians in order to secure their trade ; and they frequently fostered a large number of half-breed children, who were the offspring of their licentiousness.

The *Coueurs des Bois*, or rangers of the woods, were either French or half-breeds, a hardy race, accustomed to labor and deprivation, and conversant with the character and habits of the Indians, from whom they procured their cargoes of furs. They were equally skilled in propelling a canoe, fishing, hunting, trapping, or sending a ball from their rifles "to the right eye" of the buffalo. If of mixed blood, they generally spoke the language of their parents, the French and Indian ; and knew just enough of their religion to be regardless of both. Employed by the aristocratic French fur companies as voyageurs or guides, their forms were developed to the fullest vigor, by propelling the canoe through the lakes and streams, and by carrying large packs of goods across the portages of the interior by straps suspended from their foreheads or shoulders. These voyageurs knew every rock and island, bay and shoal, of the western waters. The ordinary dress of the white portion of the Canadian French traders was a cloth passed about the middle, a loose shirt, a "molton" or blanket coat, and a red milled or worsted cap.* The half-breeds were demi-savage in their dress as well as their character and appearance. They sometimes wore a surtout of coarse blue cloth, reaching down to the mid leg, elk-skin trowsers, with the seams adorned with fringes, a scarlet woollen sash tied around the waist, in which was stuck a broad knife, to be used in dissecting the carcasses of animals taken in hunting ; buck-skin moccasins, and a cap made of the same materials with the surtout.† Affable, gay, and licentious, these men were employed by the French merchants as guides, canoe-men, steersmen, or rangers, to advance, in their large canoes, into the remotest wilderness, and to traffic their European goods for peltries, depositing them at the several French dépôts on the lakes, whence they were transported to Quebec and Montreal.

* Henry, p. 34.

† Some of this class may now be seen on the lakes.

The peasantry, or that portion of the French population who devoted themselves to agriculture, maintained the habits, which were brought from the provinces whence they emigrated; and these are retained to the present time. While the gentlemen preserved the garb of the age of Louis XIV, the peasants wore a long surtout, sash, red cap, and deer-skin moccasins. This singular mixture of character was made more strange by the Indians who loitered around the posts, the French soldiers, with blue coats turned up with white facings, and short clothes, and by the number of priests and Jesuits who had their stations around the forts. Agriculture was but little encouraged, either by the policy of the fur trade or the industry of the inhabitants. It was limited to a few patches of corn and wheat, which were cultivated in profound ignorance of the principles of good husbandry. Their grain was ground in windmills. The enterprise of the French women was directed to the making up of coarse cotton and woollen clothes for the Indian trade. Their amusements were confined to dancing to the sound of the violin, in simple and unaffected assemblies at each other's houses; or in attending the festivals of their church, hunting in the forests, or paddling their canoes across the silent streams.* The wilderness gave them abundance of game; and the lake-herring, the bass, the pike, the gar, the mosquenonge, and sturgeon, swarmed in the waters. The Mackinaw trout, sometimes weighing fifty pounds, pampered their taste; and the white fish, of which, says Charlevoix, "nothing of the fish kind can excel it," flashed its silver scales in the sun.

The administration of the law was such as might properly be expected, where no civil courts were organised and all was elemental. The military arm was the only effective power to command what was right and to prohibit what was wrong. The commandant of the fort, under the cognizance of the Governor-general of Canada, was the legislator, the judge, and the executive. A compact and ripened frame of juris-

* For important facts connected with this period, I am indebted to a manuscript, submitted by the kindness of John R. Williams, and furnished him by a contemporary.

prudence can only exist, where there is sufficient intelligence to mark out and adjudge the rule of civil right and physical power to enforce it. But the natural courtesy of the French of every grade, the mildness of the jurisdiction which was exercised over them by the commandants of the forts, tended to do away that motive for quarrel which results from the sharp collisions of men in densely-settled states. By consequence there was little litigation. A notarial book was kept, in which were recorded all the circumstances and relations of the colonists, the marriages, the conveyances of lands, contracts, the conduct of the emigrants, the date of their emigration, the articles delivered to them in consideration of their cultivating the soil, so that the Catholic priest or the commandant of the fort might look upon their condition as upon a map. No efforts were made for general education, and all the knowledge acquired by the younger portion of the colonists was obtained from the priests and referred to the tenets of the Catholic church.

The social condition of the French upon the lakes was accordingly of a less ambitious cast than the colonial establishments at Quebec and Montreal. At those places were concentrated all the pomp and splendor which belonged to the French government in this part of America. There, were collected the noblesse, the bishop, the colleges of the Jesuits, and all that was imposing in the Canadian state as well as the church. The emigrants on the lakes were of more humble origin, who were despatched to these posts for the purpose of building them up and arranging convenient depôts for the trade, as it circulated through the whole extent of the north-western waters. These emigrants were sent out from the head-quarters of the colonial establishments, and provided by the agency of the government, through the commissary's department, with cauvass for tents, hoes, axes, sickles, a certain amount of grain, venison, powder, ball, and cattle ; a part of which were to be returned within a specified time when a certain amount of land should be cleared.*

* See a notarial record of 1747 in French, now preserved at Detroit.

The volatile and migratory disposition natural to the French people, increased by the roving habits of the fur trade, was under the rigid surveillance of the Catholic clergy. The Jesuits and the priests exercised an inquisitorial power over every class of the little commonwealth upon the lakes, and the community became thus subjected thoroughly to their influence, which was artful, though mild and beneficent. The utmost satisfaction was experienced by the French colonists in attending the ordinances of the church, and kneeling upon the floor of the rude chapel before the altar, counting their beads, or making the sign of the cross upon their foreheads with holy water from the baptismal font. The Jesuits and priests, with their long gowns and black bands, were, however, not so successful with the savages. By them the clergy were deemed "medicine men" and jugglers, on whom the destinies of life and death depended. If a silver crucifix, the painting of a Madonna, a carved saint, an ancient book, or the satin vestments of the priests, embroidered with flowers of purple and gold, sometimes came before their eyes, it was believed that they were but implements of incantation, by which the souls of those on earth were to be spirited away to heaven. It was naturally thought that this was the peculiar province of the missionaries; and there is evidence of an Iroquois warrior, who threatened the life of a Catholic priest who ministered beside the mat of an aged savage on the verge of death, unless he should rescue the dying Indian from the grave.* The contrast derived from this state of things was extraordinary. The lonely altar, erected from rough stones under the clustering boughs of the wilderness, adorned with rude candlesticks, crosses and censers wrought from the copper of the lakes, was often surrounded by Indians, naked, or arrayed in the rough costume of their tribes, the wrought skin of the elk, the deer, and the buffalo, with the cincture of the war eagle, only worn by eminent warriors, crowning their heads; with necklaces of bears' claws, and moccasins embroidered with the stained quills of the porcupine: and they gazed at the strange exor-

* Anonymous Missionary Journal of Travels in Canada, published in Paris.

cisms which they saw before them, or heard the chant and the requiem as they went up to heaven amid the yell of the panther and the howling of the wolf. The influence of religion acting upon the rough and savage features of barbarism, stamps the scene with a mild beauty springing from contrast, like the rainbow which bends upon the storm ! No sculptured marble adorned the soil ; no golden lamps flamed upon the columns of ancient cathedrals, attesting the presence of luxury and the arts. But the solitary bark chapels of the missionaries, surmounted by the cross, looked out upon a domain of prairies, waters, and forests, the palace could not boast of.

“ Iris all hues ; roses and jessamine,
Reared high their flourished heads between, and wrought
Mosaic ; under foot the violet,
Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay
Brodered the ground, more colored than with stones
Of costliest emblem.”

Another fact, which tended to strengthen the singular character of the coast of Michigan at that period, was the Indian mythology of the north-western lakes. Whether this Indian mythology was founded on the circumstance, that the region of the lakes had been long the central point of the Algonquin power, where their systems had been organized for ages ; whether it sprang from the bold and solitary features of the lake scenery inspiring the savage mind with superstition ; or how far it has since been moulded with the instructions of the Jesuits, which assumed the form of allegory in order to impress the savage mind—is not now clearly known. This mythology, did, however, in fact, exist, and has been transmitted to the present time. The rocks and islands, lakes and streams, groves and cataracts, around the shores of Michigan, like those of the Grecian and Roman states, each had its presiding genii, good or evil ; and the Indian legends not only accounted for the creation of the earth and every prominent object of nature, but also peopled the stars with spirits . Fairies of the land and the water floated through the forests and danced along the streams. Spirits, or “ *manitou's*” of darkness, performed their orgies amid thunder-storms, upon the shores of the

great lakes, and its islands were alleged to abound in golden sands, and to be watched, like the golden fleece, by huge serpents, which lay coiled upon their banks; birds of prey, and enormous giants. To these they offered sacrifices of tobacco-pipes and other articles of little value. When Charlevoix visited this region in 1721, he was told by the Indians that *Michabou* was the *Manitou* of the lakes, the God of the waters; that the island of Mackinaw* was the place of his birth, and that he formed all the lakes and streams of the country. Sacrifices were at that time made by the Indians to Lake Superior, as it was created by this deity in order to permit the savages to catch beaver; and they believed that the fragments of rock which break the Falls of St. Mary, and the other rapids in this quarter, were the remains of a causeway he had erected to dam up the waters of the rivers.† If these forest-gods were appeased by the savages, they were entitled to the celestial regions beyond the mountains; but if they neglected them, they would be consigned to wander for ever "up and down," amid dreary solitudes, under the care of monsters "sixty feet in height," and to be "stung by gnats as large as pigeons."‡

The form of land distribution in Michigan was calculated to prevent agriculture, and to keep the French peasantry in rigid allegiance to their lords. Grants of land were made by the French governor of Canada and Louisiana, which were required to be confirmed by the king of France. The commandants of the forts were also allowed to grant permissions of occupancy to the settlers, and lands were occupied by the French settlers without permission. On that ground are based some of the old French titles to land in the state. The regular grants made to the settlers were encumbered with the most illiberal and burdensome conditions, calculated to cripple the freedom of the tenant and the progress of husbandry.

* The name of this island is derived from the words *michi-mackinac*, a great turtle, from its resemblance to that animal; or from the Chippewa terms *michi ni maukinok*, signifying the place of giant fairies.

† Charlevoix's Journal, vol. 2, p. 44, 45. See also, for an account of the Indian mythology, the old Jesuit journals; Carver Henry; and also a work of Henry R. Schoolcraft, to be entitled "Algon Researches."

‡ See Henry's Travels.

Even the first grant which was made at Detroit, in 1707, six years after Detroit was founded, by Antoine de la Motte Cadillac to François Fafard Delorme, interpreter for the king, clearly exhibits the feudal spirit of the French policy. It conveyed only thirty-two acres. The following were its general conditions.* The right of hunting hares, rabbits, and partridges, was reserved. The grantee was required to pay five livres quit-rent on the 20th of March of each year; and also the sum of ten livres in peltries, until a current money should be established, and that sum was thenceforward to be paid in money. He was also required to begin to clear and improve the concession within three months from the date of the grant on pain of forfeiture. He was required to *plant, or help to plant, a long May-pole at the door of the principal manor on the 1st of May in every year*. If the grantee failed in this, he was bound to pay three livres in money or peltries. He was also bound to pay for the right of grinding at the *moulin bannal*, or mill of the manor. A pre-emption right was reserved to the grantor. All the timber wanted for the construction of fortifications, boats, and other vessels, was reserved; and no person was permitted to work on the land at the trade of a blacksmith, gunsmith, armorer, or brewer, within the first ten years from the date of the grant, without the consent of the grantor. On every sale of the lands, the duty was to be paid called the *lods et ventes*. All effects carried to or from Montreal were required to be sold by the grantee or other person, who, with his family, was a resident, and not by clerks, foreigners, or strangers. If the grantee sold to a foreigner with permission, the duties required were increased to a great degree. The grantee was forbidden to trade brandy with the Indians, and in some cases he was bound to obtain a brevet of confirmation within two years.† Similar grants, equally burdensome, were also made in 1734, by Charles Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor for the king in Canada, and Louisiana to St. Aubin; and in 1750 by

* Consult American State Papers, class VIII. p. 191. Only three French grants at Detroit appear on record previous to 1753.

† Consult note A at the end of this volume, where the grant may be found.

De la Jonquiere to Antoine Robert, of lands on the Detroit River.* The abridgment of the rights of the tenants was further effected in 1745, by an edict which was passed, ordaining that no country-houses should be built on plantations of one acre and a half in front and forty back, and the scarcity of springs in the interior thus confined the settlements along the banks of the streams. The influence of national policy is nowhere more strongly exhibited than in the contrast with that period, of the sturdy American enterprise which is now acting on the soil.

Beside the unequal and burdensome tenure of land distribution, springing from the *Coutume de Paris*,† equal and exact justice could not be administered in doubtful matters, except on application to the Governor of Canada. At a subsequent period numerous grants were made by Rquottlec de Bellestre, the commandant of Detroit; and there is on record a cause of Claude Campeau against M. Cabacier, praying for an injunction to prevent the demolition of a mill when M. Landrieve was commandant of that post. In 1753 a temporary order was given, sent to the Governor-general, and finally received the signature of the Marquis Du Quesne.‡ The record shows that the government of the posts on the lakes was subject to the authority of the commandants under the cognizance of the Governor-general; and it also establishes the fact, that there was no organised court or settled system of jurisprudence.§

In 1749 a number of emigrants were sent out at the expense of the French government, who were provided with farming utensils, and all the means necessary to advance a

* See American State Papers, class VIII. p. 270, 1, 2.

† The principal conditions springing from grants under the *Coutume de Paris* were, the *Quint*, which was the fifth part of the purchase money of an estate held in fief. *Relief*, the rent or revenue of one year, for mutation fine. *Lods et Ventes* were fines of alienation of one twelfth part of the purchase money, paid to the seigneur by the purchaser on the transfer of property. *Franc aleu noble*, was a freehold estate, acknowledging no lord but the king. *Censive*, was an estate held in the feudal mode, subject to the seignorial dues. *Communante de bien*, was a partnership in property by marriage.

‡ Consult American State Papers, class VIII. p. 273.

§ See Note B at the end of this volume.

colony. These were settled at Detroit ; but no material advantage was gained to the posts on the lakes, because there was too little energy and system in the government, and too little enterprise in the people. Surrounded by streams and forests yielding abundance, removed from the settled portion of the world, there was but little motive presented to their minds for the exertion of energy and ambition.

About this period the policy of the French Government was exercised to establish a chain of posts from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi, in order to secure the trade, overawe the Indians, and environ the English power, which was then confined to the Atlantic sea-board. In 1751 the fort of Detroit, as well as those on the upper lakes, continued to be in a weak condition. About thirty French farms or plantations were scattered along the banks of the river, and the colony contained a population of about five hundred, besides the Indians in the three villages, who could at that time command about four hundred warriors. Detroit was then an important point of French influence on the north-western lakes.*

The progress of the country under the French government was obstructed by the fact that this region was long under the monopoly of exclusive companies chartered by the French crown. The design of these companies, especially the governors and intendants, was to enrich themselves by the fur trade ; and accordingly they had little motive to encourage agriculture or general settlement. By that policy the intendants accumulated large fortunes by the trade, while they averted from the observation of the French crown the actual condition of the colonies in Canada. They much preferred that the French inhabitants should undergo the labor of procuring furs, while they might reap the profits, rather than that these tenants should become the free husbandmen of a fertile soil. It was reverence for rank, ignorance of the true principles of republican freedom, and, in some measure perhaps, a virtuous loyalty which they felt toward their monarch, that

* See a Pamphlet, entitled "Contest in America," &c., a part of which was published in the Universal Magazine at London in the year 1759.

induced them to yield their allegiance to the colonial administration.

The fur trade was the principal subject of mercantile traffic upon the coast of Michigan, and its central point was the shores of the north-western lakes. Large canoes, laden with packs of European merchandize, advanced periodically through the upper lakes, for the purpose of trading for peltries with the Indians; and these made their principal dépôts at Michilimackinac and Detroit. In order to advance the interests of the trade, licenses were granted by the French king, and unlicensed persons were prohibited from trading with the Indians in their own territory under the penalty of death. The ordinary price of these licenses was six hundred crowns. They were generally purchased from the Governor-general by the merchants, and by them sold out to the Canadian traders or the *Coueurs des Bois*. The privilege granted in a single license, was the loading of two large canoes, each of which was manned by six men, and freighted with a cargo valued at about a thousand crowns. They were sold to the traders at an advance of about fifteen per cent. more than they could command in ready money at the colony. The actual profits on these voyages was generally about one hundred per cent. In this traffic the merchant acquired most of the profit, while the trader endured most of the fatigue. On the return of the expedition, the merchant took from the bulk of the profit six hundred crowns for his license, and a thousand crowns for the prime cost of the exported goods. From this sum the merchant took forty per cent. for bottomry, and the remainder was then divided among the six *Coueurs des Bois*, whose share, for all their hardship and peril, was only a small consideration.

The active agents of the fur trade were the *Coueurs des Bois*, the pilots of the lakes. Sweeping up in their canoes through the upper lakes, encamping with the Indians in the solitude of the forests, they returned to the posts, which stood like light-houses of civilization upon the borders of the wilderness; like sailors from the ocean, to whom they were not dissimilar in character. They were lavish of their money

in dress and licentiousness. They ate, drank, and played all away, so long as their goods held out; and when these were gone, they sold their embroidery, their lace and clothes; and they were then forced to go on another voyage for subsistence.*

The scope of French enterprise upon the lakes was mainly confined to the fur trade during the whole period of the French domination; and the general course of the traffic may be known by the words of La Hontan, written at Montreal in 1685:

"Much about the same day, there arrived twenty-five or thirty canoes belonging to the *Coueurs des Bois*, being homeward bound for the great lakes, and laden with beaver skins. The cargo of each canoe amounted to forty packs, each of which weighs fifty pounds, and will fetch fifty crowns at the farmer's office. These canoes were followed by fifty more of the Ottawas and Hurons, who came down every year to the colony, in order to make a better market than they can do in their own country of Michilimackinack which lies on the banks of the

* La Hontan, vol. 1, p. 20, 21.

It has been remarked, that the character of the French people can be inferred from their songs. This is peculiarly true in regard to the boat-songs of the *Coueurs des Bois*, which they timed with their paddles upon the waters. They demonstrate the gay, licentious, and reckless character of these forest mariners. Among the most popular are the two following, which are now heard upon the north-western lakes; and they were probably imported from the French provinces whence the traders emigrated:--

1.
Tous les printemps
Tant de nouvelle,
Tous les amants
Changent de maitresses
Le bon vin ni endort
L' amour me reveille.

Tous les amants
Changent de maitresses
Qu'ils changent qui voudront
Pour moi je garde la mienne
Le bon vin ni endort
L' amour me reveille.†

2.
Dans mon chemin j'ai rencontre
Trois cavalieres bien montees
Lon lon laridon daine
Lon lon laridon dai.

Trois cavalieres bien montees
L'un a cheval et l'autre a pied
Lon lon laridon daine
Lon lon laridon dai.

These songs have before been published in a work of talent, entitled "Tales of the North-west."

Lake of Hurons, at the mouth of the lake of the Illinese. Their way of trading is as follows: upon their arrival they encamp at the distance of five or six hundred paces from the town. The next day is spent in ranging their canoes, unloading their goods, and pitching their tents, which are made of birch bark. The next day they demand audience of the Governor-general, which is granted them that same day in a public place. Upon this occasion each nation makes a ring for itself. The savages sit upon the ground with their pipes in their mouths, and the Governor is seated in an arm-chair; after which there starts up an orator or speaker from one of these nations, who makes an harangue, importing that his brethren are come to visit the Governor-general, and to renew with him their wonted friendship: that their chief view is to promote the interest of the French, some of whom, being unacquainted with the way of traffic, and being too weak for the transporting of goods from the lakes, would be unable to deal in beaver skins if his brethren did not come in person to deal with them in their own colonies; that they knew very well how acceptable their arrival is to the inhabitants of Montreal, in regard of the advantage they reap by it; that in regard the beaver skins are much valued in France, and the French goods given in exchange are of an inconsiderable value, they mean to give the French sufficient proof of their readiness to furnish them with that they desire so earnestly. That by way of preparation of another year's cargo, they are come to take in exchange, fusees, powder, and ball; in order to hunt great numbers of beavers, or to gall the Iroqueuse, in case they offer to disturb the French settlements. And, in fine, that in confirmation of their words, they throw a porcelain *colier*, with some beaver skins, to the *Kitchi-Okima* (so they call the Governor-general), whose protection they lay claim to, in case of any robbery or abuse committed upon them in the town. The spokesman having made an end of his speech, returns to his place and takes up his pipe, and the interpreter explains the substance of the harangue to the Governor, who commonly gives a very civil answer, especially if the presents be valuable; in consideration of which he likewise makes them a present of some tri-

fling things. This done, the savages rise up and return to their huts to make suitable preparations for the ensuing truck.

"The next day the savages make their slaves carry the skins to the houses of the merchants, who bargain with them for such clothes as they want. All the inhabitants of Montreal are allowed to traffic with them in any commodity but rum and brandy ; these two being excepted upon the account that when the savages have got what they wanted, and have any skins left, they drink to excess, and then kill their slaves ; for when they are in drink they quarrel and fight, and if they were not held by those who are sober, would certainly make havock one of another ; however, you must observe that none of them will touch either gold or silver.*

"As soon as the savages have made an end of their truck, they take leave of the Governor, and so return home by the river Ottawas. To conclude, they did a great deal of good, both to the poor and rich ; for you will readily apprehend that every body turns merchant upon such occasions."

Such was the condition of Michigan under the French domination. The energies of the colonists were directed to the aggrandizement of their *seigneurs* through the fur trade. Agriculture was checked by feudal clogs. The few French peasants scattered around their posts, or mixed with the savages, adored their lords and their priests. Amiable, contented, removed from the populated parts of the world, dwelling in bark or log cottages, stretching along the banks of the streams, and surrounded by pickets, many of which are now standing, they were goaded by no impulse of ambition or avarice ; they felt no fear, save when bands of the Iroquois advanced to the surrounding forests ; for the Iroquois, says Charlevoix, "set all Canada on fire."† They yielded a cheerful allegiance to their lords, because they loved monarchy. The free schools of the east had scattered intelligence through

* La Hontan, vol. 1, p. 47.

† The recollection of the incursion of the Iroquois now remains upon the shores of Lake Superior, like that of the Mohawk upon the hills of New England. At the sound of their name the infant savage of the Chippewas will run to his wigwam, and wrap himself closer in his blanket.

the English settlements, but they were in ignorance. The conciliatory and mild but artful spirit, first sent abroad by Ignatius Loyola in founding the order of the Jesuits, diffused its influence through the frame-work of society in Michigan ; and the thunders of the Vatican had crossed the ocean, and rolled along the shore of the lakes.

CHAPTER V.

French and English claims to the country--Rival Discoveries--Wars between the two Nations--Massacre of Schenectady--Projected Conquest of Canada--Projected Conquest of North America by the French--Treaty of Utrecht--Intrigue of Father Ralle--War renewed--Rival claims stated--Letter to Uncas--Campaign of 1759--Battle of the Plains of Abraham--Surrender of the country by the French to the English--Condition of Michigan at that period.

THE horizon is here widened in order to take a brief view of facts which, although transpiring beyond the organized bounds of Michigan, had an important bearing in moulding its destiny. For the full understanding of the grounds on which were based the claims of France and England to the domain of New France, it is proper to state their alleged discoveries and appropriations in chronological order. In October, 1492, Columbus had discovered North America; on the 5th of March, 1496, a commission was granted from the English crown, to John Cabot and his sons, to make discoveries, take possession, and carry on exclusive trade with the natives in countries to the east, north, and west, then unknown to Christian people. In May, 1498, Cabot embarked on that enterprise, and continuing his course westward, after having descried Newfoundland and St. Johns, he soon reached the continent of North America, and sailing along from the coast of Labrador to Virginia, he endeavored to find some inlet which might open a passage to the west. Failing in this, he returned to England without an attempt at settlement. The foundation of the English claim to the country reaching from the Gulf of Mexico to the North Pole, may be traced to that expedition, and also to discoveries made in the interior during the years 1568, 1654, 1672, 1678, and from 1725 to 1740.*

The prominent ground of the French claim to the continent, was the fact, that L'Escarbot, who visited America in

* Pitkin

1606, affirmed that at that period the language which was spoken on the eastern coast of Newfoundland and the Great Bank was half Biscayan ; from which it was inferred that fishermen from the western coasts of France had navigated those seas before the expedition of Cabot in 1498. Ample evidence is, in fact, adduced to show, that in 1504 the Biscayans, the Normans, and the Britons had frequented the Great Bank of Newfoundland, the coasts of the adjacent continent, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, for the purpose of fishing ; that a map of the coast was published in 1506, and that a Canadian was brought into France from those regions in 1508. As early as 1000, the Northmen had navigated these shores, and a particular account of their discoveries and explorations has recently been placed on record.*

In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert of Compton in Devonshire, had obtained letters patent from the Queen of England, authorizing him, his heirs and assigns, to discover and take possession of such remote heathen and barbarous lands as were not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people—paying to her Majesty the fifth part of all the gold and silver ore which might be found within their bounds—and to exclude all persons who might be found trading within these limits without his license. Under this liberal grant, Gilbert embarked for America, but from the pressure of causes beyond his control, he did nothing more than to take possession of Newfoundland in due form.

On the 26th of March, 1584, Sir Walter Raleigh, a nobleman of romantic temper but great energy, obtained a grant similar to that of Gilbert ; and the same year despatched two vessels, which approached the North American continent by the way of Florida. They soon arrived at Roanoke, where the mariners carried on a profitable traffic with the natives. They then embarked for England. The glowing descriptions which they gave of the country so pleased Elizabeth, that she gave it the name of Virginia, denoting that it was discovered while a virgin queen was on the throne. In 1585 Raleigh

* *Antiquitates Americanæ.*

fitted out seven small ships with the necessary stores and armaments, and placed them under the command of Sir Richard Grenville for the purpose of establishing a colony. This colony, consisting of 108 persons, was settled on the Island of Roanoke, and its guidance was committed to Mr. Ralph Lane; and on the 25th of August the ships set sail for England. Gold was the object of the expedition, as it was believed that the precious metals abounded in this region. In 1586 Sir Francis Drake found the colony worn out by toil for the discovery of the precious metals; neglecting agriculture, which would have provided permanent means of support; at enmity with the savages, and in a state of the utmost distress. The colonists requested to be returned, and on the 19th of June they set sail for England in his fleet.

On the 10th of April, 1606, letters patent were issued under the great seal of England, to Sir Thomas Gates and a company, by James I; granting to them those territories in America lying on the sea-coast between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude, and which either belonged to that monarch, or were not then possessed by any other Christian prince or people; and also the islands adjacent thereto, or within one hundred miles thereof.

In 1603 Henry IV. of France had granted to De Mont a commission as lieutenant-general over that part of America, which lies between the 40th and the 46th degrees of north latitude, with power to settle and to rule it. In consequence of the grants to the Virginia companies, Captain Argal attacked and dispersed the settlements made by the French on the Bay of Fundy. The settlements of the French had extended as far south and west as St. Croix, and of the English as far north and east as Penobscot; and those of the English were nearly contemporaneous.

In 1620, a grant was made to the Plymouth colony by James, of all the territory which lies between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude; and in 1621 he, as the king of Scotland, granted to Sir William Alexander, with the consent of the Plymouth colony, the country bounded on the north, and east, and south, by the river St. Lawrence and the

ocean, and on the west by the river St. Croix, under the title of Nova Scotia.*

These rival claims of the two governments were the natural ground of jealousy between the French and English colonial establishments; and in fact, as early as 1632, a party of French from Acadie committed a robbery on a trading post, established in 1627 by the people of New Plymouth at Penobscot. Information was also received that Cardinal de Richelieu had ordered companies to that station, and also priests, Jesuits, and other parts of the colonial machinery. In 1644, the apprehensions of the English were quieted by a treaty of peace and commerce between the Governor of New England and M. D'Aulney, lieutenant-general of the king of France in Acadie.

The design of the English and French powers was to undermine the influence of each other, and to grasp the dominion of the country. The territory, claimed by the English, embraced the vast region bordering the St. Lawrence and the north-western lakes. It was maintained, on the other hand, by the French, that the St. Lawrence was the centre of Canada, and that the Apalachian mountains had always been regarded as the bounds of their colonies. The English occupied the country included in New England and New-York, and south upon the eastern maritime frontier; while the French settlements were comprised mainly in New France.

The conquest of Canada had therefore been long a favorite object of the English colonists; and as early as 1628, Charles I. had granted to David Kertk a commission to effectuate that object. The expedition was undertaken, and in 1629 Quebec had been captured. This was, however, restored by Charles in 1632.

The French were found gradually extending their settlements into the disputed territory, by constructing forts, and sending out colonies, which should connect their possessions in Canada with Louisiana by a chain of fortifications extending from Quebec to New Orleans. The progress of their

* See Marshal and Pitkin, *passim*.

colonies was viewed with apprehension and jealousy by the English, and at an early period Sedgwick dislodged them from Penobscot, where they had made settlements and had subdued Acadie. New-York and New England, during this period, were exposed to a desolating Indian war : while the English crown viewed with indignation the influence of that voluptuous monarch, Louis XIV.—which was believed to encourage those hostilities in this country.

War soon broke out at home, between France and England, and its influence was extended to their possessions in America. In 1688 De Calliers had projected a military expedition against New-York. While this was pending, however, he embarked for Quebec, and found Canada in the utmost consternation. During the preceding summer the Iroquois had landed twelve hundred men on the Island of Montreal, who destroyed about a thousand of the French. In October the Island was again attacked, and the lower part laid waste. In consequence of these incursions, Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario was evacuated. The savages roused the country into such a state of dread, that agriculture could not be practised. The projected attack on New-York was accordingly prevented.

Count Frontenac, then in his sixty-eighth year, but possessing all the animation and vigor of youth, embarked in a canoe for Montreal, for the purpose of encouraging the Canadian inhabitants, and terrifying the hostile savages. Sending out hostile parties against the English, he held a council with the Iroquois at Onondaga. This council, however, resulted in no permanent league. The expedition sent out, against New-York, to which allusion has before been made, was constituted of a few Indians and about two hundred French. These travelled through a wilderness covered with deep snows, with their packs upon their backs, by the aid of snowshoes ; and on the 8th of February, 1690, at eleven o'clock at night, they arrived at Schenectady in New-York. Here they divided themselves into small parties of six or seven, and, entering each house at the same time, they massacred the occupants ; and, slaying the mothers, cast the unborn infants

into the flames of the burning village. At this attack, sixty persons were killed and twenty-seven made prisoners. Having burned and pillaged the settlement, and killed all the cattle which could be found, the invaders retired. The weather was intensely cold, and in their flight twenty-seven lost their limbs from the cold, and twenty-five of the French were killed and captured by a party of young men from Albany, who followed in pursuit, accompanied by a body of Mohawks.

The general court of Massachusetts well knew that these disasters originated in Canada and Acadie, and they accordingly soon planned an expedition against Port Royal and Quebec. To carry out that project, eight small vessels, carrying seven or eight hundred men, were despatched early in the spring for Port Royal, and took possession of that point, together with the whole line between it and the English settlements. On the 30th of May the fleet returned. On the other hand, Count Frontenac made a descent from Quebec and Trois Rivières upon Salmon Falls and Fort Casco, and took a number of prisoners ; while the frontier was kept in a continual state of consternation by the incursions of the savages.

The importance of the conquest of Canada was urged upon the English monarch, but his mind was too much occupied with domestic affairs to attend to the American colonies, and it was soon conceived to be necessary for the colonies to adopt vigorous measures for self-defence. It was agreed that New-York and New England should furnish troops to march by the route of Lake Champlain to attack Montreal, and that a force from Massachusetts should proceed to Quebec by sea, for the purpose of its capture. That fleet sailed from Nantasket on the 9th of August. It consisted of forty vessels, containing in all about two thousand men. The largest vessel carried forty-four guns. The troops from Connecticut and New-York were unsupported by the Iroquois, who rendered them no assistance by their warriors, or furnished canoes to transport them over the lakes ; and, in consequence, they returned without attacking Montreal. The

fleet, under the command of Sir William Phipps, was delayed in its passage to Quebec, and was obliged to encounter the whole French force. After an unsuccessful attack upon Montreal, where he received more injury than he inflicted, on the 13th of November he returned to Boston. That expedition thus failed.

A desultory war continued to be carried on for some time between the two nations, backed by savages, producing great damage and individual suffering. Canada was deemed the main source of the evils which were incurred ; and at length King William, in 1603, determined to employ a force for the reduction of Quebec ; but the plan was not carried into execution. On the conquest of Acadie by Sir William Phipps, Massachusetts extended its jurisdiction over that region ; but as no body of troops could be retained in that quarter to maintain the allegiance of the French, their affections soon returned to their native country, and the government of Massachusetts was shaken off. Villebone had recovered Port Royal, and held a commission from the king of France as governor of Acadie. About the same period a fort at Pemaquid was taken by a body of French and Indians, by Iberville, while England as yet rendered but little assistance to the war. In 1696 a promise was made to that effect, but this promise was not performed.

During the same year a plan originated with the cabinet of Versailles for an expedition to be carried on in the year following against the English colonies. Its design was to grasp the dominion of North America. Count de Frontenac was ordered to hold in readiness fifteen hundred men, to co-operate with the troops which should arrive from France ; but that expedition was also relinquished. In December, peace was declared between England and France ; and the hostilities between the subjects of those nations ceased also. During the war, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New-York were more particularly exposed to the depredations of the savages ; but the latter colony was covered by the Iroquois, who continued firm allies to the English notwithstanding the arts and address of the French.

By the treaty of peace between France and England, it had been agreed that each nation should restore to the other the conquests made during the war; and it was also stipulated that commissioners should be appointed to determine the claims of both monarchs to the places in Hudson's Bay, while the possession of places which had been taken by the French, and which were retaken by the English, should remain with France. The boundaries of these places, however, were not clearly defined, and the consequences soon became manifest. The English claimed the whole country west of St. Croix as a part of the colony of Massachusetts, and France determined to exclude the English from the fisheries on the coast, and from the possession of the country east of Kennebec. Hostilities were therefore soon re-commenced for the establishment of these claims. A treaty of neutrality was negotiated by the French with the Iroquois; and New-Hampshire and Massachusetts were obliged to struggle with the whole weight of the war. Numerous projects were discussed for the subjugation of the French, and depredations on the frontiers continued to be committed until the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, terminated for a time the colonial troubles. By this treaty, France ceded to England all Nova Scotia or Acadie, with its ancient boundaries; as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, and all other things in those parts which depend on the said lands.

The French missionaries, comprised of the Jesuits, priests, and Recollets, acquired great influence among the Indians; and in the exercise of a principle common to our nature, in a few instances excited the prejudices of the savages against the Anglo-Saxon race. Evidence is produced to show that in 1726 M. Vaudreuil exercised his influence for the same object. After the cession of Nova Scotia to Great Britain, it was proved that Father Ralle, a Canadian missionary, had exerted an agency in rousing the resentments of the Indians against the English; and a force was detached to the village where Rolle resided, to seize his person. But Ralle had fled. His papers were, however, found—which clearly demonstrated that a correspondence had taken place between himself and Vau-

dreuil, the Governor of Canada, in which the Canadian Governor had promised to furnish the Indians arms and ammunition in case they made an attack upon the English posts. That fact was charged upon Vaudreuil, which he at first denied, and affirmed that the Indians were independent tribes, and could do as they pleased ; but when the evidence was exhibited, nailing upon him the falsehood, he stated that he would use his influence to suppress any future disturbances. A treaty of peace was then concluded with the Indians in Canada, in which they engaged to terminate hostilities.

But war again sprang up in Europe between the English and French, and the peace of the English settlements was soon disturbed by an attack from Cape Breton on the part of the latter nation. The Governor of that place, having received information of a war between France and England, concluded upon the destruction of the English fishery at Canseau. Duvivier accordingly, with a force of armed vessels and about nine hundred men, attacked the island, and made its inhabitants prisoners of war. An attack was also made upon Annapolis, but without success.

The French had made great exertions to extend their dominions in this country, by sending out colonies, and erecting forts at points which could command the largest extent of territory. During the year 1721 they had made large grants of land on the banks of Lake Champlain, which was claimed by New-York, New-Hampshire, and Massachusetts ; and they had also built a fort at Crown Point, on the shores of that lake. They subsequently advanced southward from the great lakes, and constructed Fort Duquesne on the Ohio River, and had stretched their establishments from Quebec to the mouth of the Mississippi.* It was claimed by the French, that the Ohio, or La Belle Rivière, was the natural channel of communication between Canada and Louisiana ; that it had

* In 1753 George Washington, then twenty-one years of age, crossed the ice and snows of the Alleghany mountains to deliver a letter to the commandant of Fort Duquesne, remonstrating against these advancing establishments. He was despatched for that object by Lieut. Governor Dinwiddie. For his journal on that expedition, see Sparks's Washington, vol. 2, p. 432.

never been occupied or appropriated by the English ; and that, moreover, it was originally traversed by their own people, and discovered by La Salle as early as 1679. It was also alleged that some English *traitors* had passed the mountains of Virginia, and wanted to carry on a trade with the Indians on the Ohio, and that the French took and carried them back to France.

The belligerent measures of the French induced the English colonies to establish some system of measures by which the French power might be overthrown, and the English combined into a well-organized system of co-operation. In 1745 Louisburg was captured by a force of combined troops from New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut ; and this conquest saved Nova Scotia, because Duvivier—who was intending to procure an armament for the subjugation of that province, and who was ordered to proceed to Louisburg, and thence advance in the execution of his plan, as soon as he had heard of its surrender set sail for Europe and gave up the project.

The rival projects of France and England soon became manifest. The former contemplated the conquest of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and the devastation of the sea-coast, as well as the conquest of the whole of New-England ; while Great Britain anticipated the expulsion of the French from the continent, and the subjugation of all Canada. A fleet, consisting of forty ships, had been despatched under the Duke d'Anville, with the necessary armaments, to co-operate with the French and Indians against the English colonies ; but tremendous storms wrecked a greater part, and dispersed the other during their voyage ; in addition to which, the troops on board the vessels which arrived in port were attacked by a deadly sickness, which carried off a great number. The French also intercepted a letter which had been despatched to Louisburg, informing the English Admiral that a British fleet would follow that of France. The commander-in-chief suddenly died, and the command of the French colonies devolved upon M. Le Jonquiere. The war soon grew hotter. The power of France in Canada was under the direction of

one governor, and the genius of the people was military ; while the English colonies were scattered over a wide extent of territory, and the inhabitants, unaccustomed to arms, were jealous of the crown.

In September, 1753, the Board of Trade sent instructions to the Governor of New-York to hold a treaty with the Iroquois, to satisfy their complaints and adjust their claims ; and also to seek commissioners to be present, and unite with New-York ; so that all the English provinces might be comprised in one general treaty to be made in his Majesty's name. The Earl of Holderness, secretary of state, at the same time recommended that the commissioners of this meeting should form a general plan of colonial union against the encroachments of the French. In accordance with this recommendation and the instructions of the Board of Trade, commissioners from the states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, met at Albany in June, 1754 ; and having effected a treaty with the Indians, resolved unanimously that a union of the colonies was absolutely necessary for their preservation. They clearly foresaw that if the French were suffered to advance in their plans of dominion, their extending establishments would soon become too formidable to be undermined. A plan of colonial union was framed by Doctor Franklin, and submitted to the British Government ; but it was rejected, on the ground that it granted to the colonists too much of that power which belonged to the crown. But, notwithstanding the plan of union had failed, the colonies continued to co-operate in vigorous defensive measures ; and twenty-five thousand men were raised for that object—five thousand of whom were from Connecticut, and seven thousand from Massachusetts. Two hundred thousand pounds sterling were also granted from the British treasury by act of parliament ; and this sum was distributed among the English colonies in proportion to the number of troops which each had in the service.

In 1755, General Braddock embarked for America, and immediately on his arrival convened a council of the governors of the different English colonies, for the purpose of determining

a plan for the military campaign. The objects of their attack were Fort Duquesne, Niagara, Fort Frontenac, and Crown Point. An expedition, which was projected in Massachusetts, was also carried out against the French posts in Nova Scotia. A force consisting of about three hundred British and three thousand colonial troops, conquered and took possession of that province; and the inhabitants, who were found in a state of rebellion against the British arms, were dispersed among the English colonies, and reduced from affluence to the uttermost depths of poverty. Since the arrival of Braddock, the British arms had been unsuccessful; and his defeat and death in 1755, from an invisible force of French and Indians at Fort Duquesne, covered the land with gloom. The Marquis de Montcalm, a gallant officer, who had succeeded Dieskau in the command of the French troops, advanced with about five thousand French and Indians upon Oswego, conquered the garrison, and destroyed the fort.*

In the year 1757, the vast and splendid genius of the Earl of Chatham was at the helm of England, and projected a vigorous campaign on the American continent; and during the same year a military council was held at Boston, at which the Earl of Loudon opened his proposition with a speech which was intended to bring the English colonies into a systematic and vigorous co-operation. Montcalm had captured Fort William Henry, and had thus opened a way for the French to Lakes Champlain and George, and by the destruction of Oswego, had acquired dominion of the lakes which connect Canada with Louisiana. Fort Duquesne had been captured, and by this means the French held ascendancy over the Indians west of the Alleghany mountains, and the English settlements were driven to the Blue Ridge. The extermination of the French power in the North American provinces was soon determined on. The Earl of Loudon, who had been invested with the command of the English forces, returned to England, and his successor in command was General Abercrombie. Twelve thousand British troops also

* For facts in this part of the work I am mainly indebted to Marshall and Pitkin.

arrived, under General Amherst, from England. Bodies of rangers were trained to the hardships of the forest, or what was called the wood service. By these decisive measures, Louisburg was taken as well as Crown Point; and Ticonderoga was attacked without success, with the loss of Lord Howe, a young and gallant soldier.* The expedition against these two last places was undertaken by General Abercrombie in person. About the same time General Bradstreet captured Oswego with a force of about three thousand men; and Fort Duquesne had been deserted, and left to the possession of Gen. Forbes.

Colonel Robert Rogers had been commissioned by General James Abercrombie, in 1757, under instructions from the Earl of Loudon, to raise a body of rangers, who were accustomed to the desultory mode of fighting peculiar to the savages; and, in conjunction with General Putnam, backed by royal troops and Indian allies, to advance into Canada, for the purpose of pushing the English conquests in that quarter. For the purpose of securing the attachment of the tribes favorable to the English cause, he wrote to Uncas, the chief sachem of the Mohegan tribes, in the following terms, sending him, at the same time, a belt of wampum:—

“BROTHER UNCAS,

“As it is for the advantage of his Majesty, King George, to have a large body of rangers employed in his service the ensuing campaign, and as I am well convinced of the sincere attachment you have to him, I therefore obey General Amherst’s orders to me, to engage your assistance here early in the spring.

“I hope you will continue to show that ardent zeal you have all along expressed for the English ever since you have been allied to them, by raising a company of your men with the greatest expedition.

“Should you choose to come out a captain, General Amherst will readily give you the commission for it; if not, I shall expect Doquipe and Nunnipad. I leave to you the

* A splendid monument to his memory, to be erected in the collegiate church of Westminster, was voted by the Assembly of Massachusetts.

choice of an ensign and two sergeants, but I hope you will engage the fittest men for their stations. I would have the company consist of fifty private men, or more if you can get them; and if those men that deserted from Capt. Brewer will join you, the General will pardon them. You may employ a clerk for the company, to whom General Amherst will allow the usual pay.*

"I heartily wish you success in raising your men, and shall be exceedingly glad that you join me with all the expedition you possibly can.

"I am, Brother Uncas,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"To King Uncas.

ROBERT ROGERS."

An energetic campaign was projected in 1759, designed to demolish at a blow the French power in New France. Three grand divisions were made in the English army, and Canada was to be entered by three different routes. Brigadier-general Wolfe, a young and brave officer, was ordered to ascend the St. Lawrence and lay siege to Quebec; Major-general Amherst was to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then advance over Lake Champlain and down the St. Lawrence, so as to form a junction with Wolfe under the walls of Quebec; and the third division of the army was to be commanded by General Prideaux, and was designed to attack Niagara, embark on Lake Ontario, and thence proceed to the attack of Montreal. If Montreal should surrender before Quebec, he was then to join his forces with the grand army at that place. General Amherst, after making great exertions to accomplish his object, was obliged to retire into winter-quarters. Prideaux advanced against Niagara, where he found a body of French troops from Detroit, Venango, and Presque Isle. The place was besieged, and soon surrendered.

In the month of June, 1759, the English fleet under Wolfe, containing eight thousand men, reached the Island of Orleans. The French force, exclusive of the garrison of Quebec, comprised about ten thousand, with a reserve of two thousand. General Wolfe first made an attack on Montmorenci, and

* Rogers's Journal, p. 126, 7.

landed his troops under the cover of a fire from the ships of war ; but he was repulsed, and after some delay it was determined to gain the heights of Abraham. This daring enterprise was effected on the 12th of September.

It is well known that the city of Quebec stands on the north side of the St. Lawrence, and is comprised of an upper and lower town. The lower town is situated on the strand, while the upper town is bulwarked by an immense rock, which stretches along the St. Lawrence with a bold and precipitous wall. On this side it is inaccessible, and on the west it was protected by the river St. Charles. The position was defended by the French army of ten thousand men, commanded by the Marquis de Montcalm, and strengthened by floating batteries and armed vessels. The British ships of war sailed nine miles up the river above Quebec, as a stratagem to draw off a portion of the French army under M. Bougainville. This stratagem was successful ; and a detachment of the French army moved along the banks of the river to prevent the English from debarking. About midnight, boats detached from the British ships, and filled with soldiers, floated in silence down the current of the St. Lawrence. On the lofty banks of the river picket guards were stationed. As the boats passed along the shore, they were hailed by a French sentinel then on duty, " Qui vit—who comes there ?" " La France," said a soldier who understood the French language. " Quel regiment—to what regiment ?" " De la reine—the Queen's," said the soldier, who knew the name of one which was with the force of Bougainville. " Passé," said the sentinel, supposing it to be a French convoy of provisions, which was expected to pass down to Quebec ; and the boats passed on. Another sentinel, who distrusted the aspect of the boats, ran down to the water's edge, and cried out, "*Pourquoi est ce que vous ne parler plus haut*—why don't you speak louder ?" "*J'ai toi nous serons entendres*—hush, we shall be overheard and discovered,"* said the Englishman, and the boats floated along without further interruption.

* Smollet, vol. 5, p. 56.

About four o'clock in the morning the troops began to land. At eight they ascended over steep rocks, clogged with formidable obstructions, for the purpose of gaining the plains of Abraham; for on the front they were protected by two field-pieces, and their landing was covered by the Royal Americans. The light infantry and a single regiment formed a reserve.*

On the 13th the Marquis de Montcalm, who was then at Beauport, marched across the St. Charles with only one field-piece, and before his forces could be concentrated, formed, imprudently, before the British army. He advanced most gallantly; while his troops, composed chiefly of untrained militia, commenced a quick but ineffective firing when within only two hundred and fifty yards of the British line. The British, constituted of drilled soldiers, advanced regularly, with the mastiff-like obstinacy which marks the regulars of that monarchy, and opened a destructive fire, which was continued until within about twenty yards of the French. They then gave a general volley. Here, at last, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, were unrolled the hostile banners of the two nations, who felt toward each other a more than Carthaginian hatred. It was a decisive struggle. The glory of the two crowns was at issue. The prize at stake was a magnificent empire. Quebec was the Gibraltar of the wilderness, the strong-hold of French power. But the French troops soon gave way before the vigorous charge of British bayonets and the stroke of the Highland broad-sword, although supported by fifteen hundred Indian and Canadian marksmen, stationed behind the bushes and corn-fields of the neighborhood. The young and gallant Wolfe, during the early period of the action, received a bullet in his wrist, and binding it with a handkerchief, fought on. Soon after, another pierced his groin, and this wound he concealed. A third penetrated his breast, and he was carried from the field. At this moment, while leaning his head upon the shoulder of a lieutenant, he was aroused by the shout, "They fly." "Who fly?" said the wounded patriot. "The French." "Then I die

* McGregor's British America.

happy ;" and his spirit passed away to heaven upon the storm of battle, with the exultation of victory trembling on his lips.*

The no less gallant Montcalm also fell, mortally wounded, and died a few days after, praying for death because he was conquered. It was believed that this battle was precipitated by the French commandant, on the ground that M. Vaudreuil, the governor of Canada, who proposed a different plan of defence from Montcalm, had doubted his courage, and that the battle was hastened under the goadings of wounded honor. Quebec capitulated on the 18th to Gen. Murray, who, after the fall of Wolfe, succeeded to the command. The remnant of the French army was concentrated around Montreal ; but General Amherst having exhibited himself before that place, with a force against which no resistance could be made, demanded a capitulation. This capitulation, entered into in November, 1760, surrendered to the crown of England, Detroit, Michilimackinac, and all other places within the government of Canada then remaining in the possession of France.

Before the conquest of the country, Michigan preserved no distinct and independent character, and was far removed from the seat of war. The eastern line of the state was a ranging ground for Jesuit missionaries and traders, in their mercantile and religious operations through the wilderness. The few peasantry scattered along the solitary posts cultivated their small patches of land in Arcadian quietude and happiness. The interior had been but little explored, save by the savage or the Jesuit, who travelled through the Indian trails, which wound along pleasant landscapes, here stretching in a sunny hill-side, and there overshadowed by silent and noble forests. Drafts, indeed, had been made by the French government to forward their campaigns, and a number of soldiers, drawn from the lakes, were present at Braddock's defeat. Hostile bands of warriors were also sent on emergencies, from its lake shores, to devastate the English settlements ; but peace as yet smiled on its domain.

* See a painting of this scene in the Trumbull Gallery at New Haven, by an American artist, Col. John Trumbull.

CHAPTER VI.

General Amherst orders Major Rogers to take possession of Michigan--Rogers's Expedition--First appearance of Pontiac--Rogers travels around Lake Erie--Letter to Bellestere, the French commandant of Detroit--Rogers's Speech to the hostile Indians--Reply of Bellestere--The Effigy--Prediction of the Indians verified--Rogers takes possession of Detroit--Treaty with the Indians.

THE war between the French and English had heretofore raged without the bounds of Michigan, although detachments of the French were occasionally levied from Detroit, Green Bay, and Michilimackinac, to oppose the advances of the English toward the Lakes. Three days after the capitulation of Montreal, Major Robert Rogers, a brave and energetic officer, of great experience in the service, was ordered by General Amherst to advance with a proper force, take possession of the posts of Michigan, and to administer the oath of allegiance to the French subjects in that quarter. That order was in the following words :

“By his Excellency Jeffery Amherst, Esq., Major-general and Commander-in-Chief, of all his Majesty's forces in North America, &c. &c. &c.

“You will, upon the receipt hereof, with Captain Waite's and Captain Hazen's companies of Rangers under your command, proceed in whale boats from hence to Fort William Augustus, taking along with you one Joseph Powpao, alias La Fleur, an inhabitant of Detroit, and Lieutenant Brehme, assistant engineer.

“From Fort William Augustus you will continue your voyage by the north shore to Niagara, where you will land your whale boats, and transport them across the carrying-place into Lake Erie, applying to Major Walters, or the officer commanding at Niagara, for any assistance you may want on that or any other occasion; requesting of him, at the same time, to deliver up to you Monsieur Gamelin, who was made

prisoner at the reduction of said fort, and has continued there ever since, in order to conduct him, with the above-mentioned Powpao, to their habitations at Detroit; where, upon taking the oath of allegiance to his most sacred Majesty, whose subjects they are become by the capitulation of the 8th inst. they shall be protected in the peaceable and quiet possession of their properties; and so long as they behave as becometh good and faithful subjects, shall partake of all the other privileges and immunities granted unto them by the said capitulation.

“With these, and the detachment under your command, you will proceed in your whale boats across Lake Erie to Presque Isle, where, upon your arrival, you will make known the orders I have given to the officer commanding that post; and you will leave said whale boats and party, taking only a small detachment of your party, and marching by land to join Brigadier-general Monkton wherever he may be. Upon your arrival with him, you will deliver into his hands the despatches you shall herewith receive for him, and follow and obey such orders as he shall give you for the relief of the garrisons of the French posts at Detroit, Michilimackinac, or any others in that district, for gathering in the arms of the inhabitants thereof, and for administering to them the oath of allegiance already mentioned; when you will likewise administer the same to the before-mentioned Gamelin and Powpao; and when this is done, and that you have reconnoitered and explored the country as much as you can, without losing time unnecessarily you are to bring away the French troops and arms to such place as you shall be directed by General Monkton.

And when the whole of this service is completed, you will march back your detachment to Presque Isle or Niagara, according to the orders you receive from Brigadier Monkton; where you will embark the whole, and in like manner, as before, transport your whale boats across the carrying-place into Lake Ontario, where you will deliver over your whale boats into the care of the commanding officer, marching your detachment by land to Albany, or wherever I may be, to receive what farther orders I may have to give you.

“Given under my hand, at the head-quarters in the camp of Montreal, 12th September. 1760.

“JEFFRY AMHERST.

“By his Excellency’s Command,

“J. APPY.”

A secret order was at the same time given, to be shown only to the commandants of the posts which he might visit, for the purpose of preventing any obstruction from the hostile Indians whose territory he was to cross. It is here subjoined.

“Major Walters, or the officer commanding at Niagara, will judge whether or not there is provision sufficient at Presque Isle ; and Major Rogers will accordingly take provisions at Niagara. Eight days’ provisions will take him from Montreal to Fort William Augustus ; there he will apply to the commanding officer for a sufficient quantity to proceed to Niagara. Major Rogers knows where he is going and the provisions he will want ; some should be in store, likewise, at Presque Isle for the party Brigadier-general Monkton will send.

JEFFRY AMHERST.”

“*Montreal, Sept. 12th, 1760.*”

In accordance with this instruction Major Rogers embarked from Montreal on the 13th of September, 1760, with Captain Brewer, Captain Wait, Lieutenant Brheme, assistant engineer, Lieutenant Davis of the Royal train of artillery, accompanied by two hundred Rangers. The embarkation was made in fifteen whale boats. Having arrived at the site of the old Fort Frontenac, the party met a body of Indians who were out on a hunting scout, and to these they communicated the news of the capitulation. They seemed to be gratified with the intelligence, and supplied the expedition with wild fowl and venison. Another party of fifty Indians was also met by the English detachment on a stream which flows into Lake Ontario, where they were fishing for salmon. As soon as these Indians descried the English colors, they ran down to the edge of the lake, and fired their pieces in *apparent* joy ; and when information was given them of the surrender of the French, they appeared also to be gratified. This, in fact,

seemed to be the feeling of all the savages whom they met on their journey. Passing through Toronto, and halting at Niagara, where the detachment provided themselves with shoes, blankets, moccasins, and other necessities for the expedition, they proceeded on their march toward Detroit. On the 8th of October they arrived at Presque Isle. From that point Rogers embarked in a canoe, with three men for Pittsburgh, where he delivered the despatches from General Amherst to Brigadier-general Monkton at that fort. Here Major Rogers was reinforced by a detachment of Royal Americans, who marched to Presque Isle under the command of Captain Campbell; Rogers having returned to Presque Isle, which was on the Pennsylvania shore of Lake Erie, despatched Captain Brewer by land to Detroit with a drove of forty oxen, which had been provided by Colonel Bonquet; and this expedition was protected by Captain Monter with twenty Indians, comprised of the Iroquois, the Delaware, and Shawanese tribes. Captain Wait was at the same time sent back to Niagara for provisions, and was ordered to coast along the northern shore of Lake Erie, and encamp about twenty miles east of the Detroit river. The following was the order of march from Presque Isle to Detroit, issued by Major Rogers:

“The boats to row two deep; first, Major Rogers’s boat; abreast of him Captain Croghan’s; Captain Campbell follows with his company; the Rangers next; and lastly, Lieutenant Holmes, who commands the rear guard, with his own boat and that of Ensign Wait’s, so as to be ready to assist any boat that may be in distress. Boats in distress are to fire a gun, when Mr. Holmes, with the other boats under his command, are immediately to go to their relief, take them to the shore, or give such other assistance as he thinks may be best. When the wind blows hard, so that the boats cannot keep their order, a red flag will be hoisted in the Major’s boat; then the boats are not to mind their order, but put after the flag as fast as possible to the place of landing, to which the flag boat will always be a guide. It is recommended to the soldiers not to mind the waves of the lake; but when the surf is high, to stick to their oars, and the men at helm to keep the

boat quartering on the waves, and briskly follow; then no mischief will happen by any storm whatever. Ten of the best steersmen amongst the Rangers are to attend Captain Campbell and company in his boats. It is likewise recommended to his officers commanding in those boats to hearken to the steersmen in a storm or bad weather, in managing their boats. At evening (if it is thought necessary to row in the night time) a blue flag will be hoisted in the Major's boat, which is the signal for the boats to dress, and then proceed in the following manner; the boats next the hindermost are to wait for the two in the rear, the two third boats for the second two; and so on to the boats leading a-head, to prevent separation—which in the night would be hazardous.

“Mr. Brheme is not to mind the order of march, but to steer as is most convenient for him to make his observations; he is, however, desired never to go more than a league a-head of the detachment, and is to join them at landing or encamping. On landing, the regulars are to encamp in the centre, and Lieutenant Holmes's division on the right wing with Mr. Croghan's people. Lieutenant McCormick on the left wing with his division; Mr. Jequie to be always ready with his Mohegan Indians, which are the picquet of his detachment, part of which are always to encamp in the front of the party; Captain Campbell will mount a guard, consisting of one subaltern, one sergeant, and thirty privates, immediately on landing, for the security of his own encampment and battoes; Lieutenant Holmes's division to keep a guard of one sergeant and ten Rangers on the right, and Lieutenant McCormick the like number on the left; and likewise to act as adjutant to the detachment, and the orderly drum to attend him, to be at the sergeant's call. The General to beat when ordered by the Major; at which time the whole party is to prepare for embarking, the troops half an hour after, when all the guards are to be called in, and the party embark immediately after. There is to be no firing of guns in this detachment without permission from the commanding officer, except when in distress on the lake. No man to go without the sentries when in the camp, unless he has orders so to do; great care to be

taken of the arms, and the officers to review them daily Captain Campbell will order a drum to beat for the regulation of his company when landed, at any time he thinks proper for parading his men, or reviewing their arms, &c. It is not doubted but due attention will be paid to all orders given. Mr. Croghan will, at landing, always attend the major for orders, and to give such intelligence as he may have from the Indians throughout the day."

At this period there sprung upon the stage the most remarkable savage who has ever figured in Indian history. He was a chief of the Ottawa tribe, which claimed to be the oldest of the Indian nations in this quarter ; and he was acknowledged to be the principal sachem and warrior of the Algonquin Confederacy, the autocrat of the savages along the lakes. Distinguished for his noble form, commanding address, and proud demeanor, he seems to have allied to himself the respect and confidence of all the Indians in this region, and was a marked example of that grandeur which is sometimes found among the savages of our American forest. He was an avowed friend of the French and an enemy to the English ; and he combined all those traits of character which distinguish men among civilized states, whether in the forum or on the field. He was grasping in his projects, while he had sufficient dissimulation to conceal them ; his courage was unconquerable ; his pride was the pride of the proudest chief of the proudest nation on the earth ; and as an orator he was more remarkable for pointedness and vigor than for burning eloquence. This chief had watched with jealousy the progress of the English arms, and had imbibed a hatred of the English, which had been handed down to his race. He had seen them pushing their conquests through his country, destroying his tribes, driving the game from his hunting grounds, which had been bequeathed from his forefathers, and crimsoning his land with the blood of his friends and companions the French. The name of this Algonquin chief was Pontiac.

About eight miles above Detroit, at the head of the Detroit River, is Pechee Island. A green spot, set amid the clearest waters, surrounded by dense forests, at all times cool from the

breezes of the northern lakes, and removed from the rest of the world, Pontiac made this island his summer residence, and in winter lodged at the Ottawa village opposite, on the Canadian bank, and which has been described as having been situated above the town of Detroit. Poetry may imagine him here, musing upon the inroads of the English and the declining fortunes of his race, and looking upon the gorgeous domain which was spread around him, and which now constitutes the most beautiful part of Michigan—as a territory which was soon to pass from his hands. To this land he held a right of pre-emption, the time whereof the memory of man ran not to the contrary; and superadded to this, a patent from the Great Spirit, which established his title on solid ground.

When, therefore, Pontiac was informed that Major Rogers, accompanied by the first English detachment which had ever advanced into this quarter, was on the march toward Detroit, he roused like a lion attacked in his den. On the 7th of November, when Rogers arrived with his detachment at the mouth of Chogage River, he was met by a body of Ottawa messengers, who requested him to halt his forces until Pontiac, the king of the country he was in, and who was a little distance off, should come up. At the first salutation, Pontiac demanded of Rogers the business on which he came, and asked him how he dared to enter his country without his permission.* He was informed by Rogers that he had no design against the Indians, and his only object was to remove the French out of the country, who had been an obstacle in the way of mutual peace and commerce between the Indians and English. With this information friendly messages were given by Rogers to Pontiac, and also several belts of wampum. In answer, Pontiac told him that he should “stand in his path” until the next morning, and at the same time presented him with a *small string* of wampum, indicating that he must not advance farther without his leave. When he departed for the night, Pontiac asked Major Rogers whether he wanted any thing that his country contained; and stated that

* Rogers's concise account of North America.

if he did, he would send his warriors and bring it. He was, however, answered that any thing which was furnished by the Indians should be purchased. On the next morning a council having been held, Pontiac appeared at the English camp, and stated that he had made peace with the English detachment, and as a pledge, the English commandant and Pontiac both by turns smoked the calumet. He also informed Rogers that he would protect his party from the assaults of the Indians, who were collected at the mouth of the Detroit River to oppose his progress; and he despatched a portion of his warriors to assist Captain Brewer in driving the oxen which had been sent from Presque Isle to Detroit. He also sent to the Indian villages on the north and west end of Lake Erie to inform the Indians that the English had his consent to pass through the country. The Indians supplied Rogers with venison, trukeys, and several bags of parched corn; and they were in return provided with ammunition and wampum. After this interview, Pontiac attended Major Rogers until his arrival at Detroit. Having encamped some distance from the mouth of the Detroit River, Rogers sent Mr. Brheme with the following letter to Mr. Bellestre, at that time the French commandant of the Fort of Detroit.*

To Captain Bellestre, or the officer commanding at Detroit.

“SIR:—That you may not be alarmed at the approach of the English troops under my command when I come to Detroit, I send forward this by Lieut. Brheme, to acquaint you that I have General Amherst’s orders to take possession of Detroit, and such other posts as are in that district; which, by capitulation, agreed to and signed by Marquis de Vaudreuil and General Amherst, the 8th of September last, now belong to Great Britain. I have met with the Marquis de Vaudreuil’s letters to you, directed for your guidance on this occasion; which letters I shall deliver you when I am at or

* The name of the French commandant is written in different modes in Rogers’s correspondence and the records of that day. I have followed the records.

near your post, and shall encamp the troops I have with me at some distance from the fort ; till you have reasonable time to be made acquainted with the Marquis de Vaudreuil's instructions, and the capitulation ; a copy of which I have with me likewise.

I am, Sir,

“ Your humble servant,

“ ROBERT ROGERS.”

When this had been despatched, Rogers advanced to the mouth of a river which runs into Lake Erie. He there found a number of Huron chiefs, who told him “ that a body of four hundred warriors was collected at the entrance into the great strait, in order to obstruct our passage, and that Monsieur Bellestre had excited them to defend their country ; that they were messengers to know my business, and whether the person I had sent forward had reported the truth, that Canada was reduced.” Rogers confirmed the report, and alleged that the Fort of Detroit had been given up by the French governor. In order to appease their feelings, he made the subjoined speech, presenting, at the same time, a large belt of wampum :—

“ BROTHERS—With this belt I take you by the hand ; you are to go directly to your brothers assembled at the mouth of the river, and tell them to go to their towns till I arrive at the fort. I shall call you there as soon as Monsieur de Bellestre is sent away, which will be in two days after my arrival. We will then settle all matters. You live happily in your own country. Your brothers have long desired to bring this about. Tell your warriors to mind their fathers (the French), no more, for they are all prisoners to your brothers (the English), who pitied them, and left them their houses and goods, on their swearing by the Great One who made the world, to become as Englishmen forever. They are now your brothers ; if you abuse them, you affront me, unless they behave ill. Tell this to your brothers the Indians. What I say is truth. When we meet at Detroit, I will convince you it is all true.”

Rogers continued to advance toward Detroit, and next encamped on the west side of Lake Erie, near the River Raisin,

where he could scarcely procure fuel, on account of the wet prairies of that section of Michigan. On the next day he met the Indian messengers, whom he had before seen, who told him that their warriors had gone to Detroit, and that Bellestre was "a strong man," and intended to fight the English. Among these was a sachem of the Ottawas. The whole party set out with the English. On the 24th, sixty of the Indians, who alleged that they had come from Detroit the day previous, arrived at the camp of Rogers in the evening. These Indians offered to escort him to Detroit; and stated that M. Brheme, who had been despatched with the letter to the French commandant, had been confined. The French commandant at Detroit, in order to work on the minds of the Indians,—who, it is well known, are strongly impressed with symbols—when he had heard of the advance of the English under Major Rogers, erected a high flag-staff, with an effigy of a man's head on the top, and upon this head he had placed the image of a crow. The image of the head, he told the Indians represented Major Rogers, and the crow was himself. The interpretation of this group was, that the French commandant would scratch out the brains of the English. The Indians, however, were sceptical as to the truth of this emblem, and told him that the reverse would be the fact.*

When Rogers arrived near the mouth of the Detroit River, he was requested by the Indians who had accompanied him to call in the warriors of the party who had collected at that point, to cut off the detachment; and he spent one day in interchanges of kindnesses, for the purpose of securing their friendship. On the next day he received the following letter from Bellestre through M. Babec:—

"SIR—I received the letter you wrote me, by one of your officers; but as I have no interpreter, cannot fully answer it. The officer that delivered me yours, gives me to understand that he was sent to give me notice of your arrival to take possession of this garrison, according to the capitulation made in

* I am indebted for a full account of this expedition to the Journal of Major Rogers, its commander. See that Journal, *passim*.

Canada ; that you have likewise a letter from Monsieur Vaudreuil, directed to me. I beg, Sir, you will halt your troops at the entrance of the river, till you send me the capitulation and the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letter, that I may act in conformity thereto.

"I am surprised there is no French officer sent to me along with you, as is the custom on such occasions. I have the honor to be, &c., &c. DE BELLESTRE."

"*To Mr. Rogers, Major, and commander }
of the English detachment.*" }

Soon after this, a French party beat a parley on the western shore, and M. M'Cormick was sent over to enquire the object, and soon returned with the following letter, which was presented through Captain Barrager ;—

"*Detroit, 25th Nov. 1760.*

"SIR—I have already, by Mr. Barrager, acquainted you with the reasons why I could not answer particularly the letter which was delivered me the 22d instant by the officer you sent to me. I am entirely unacquainted with the reasons of his not returning to you. I sent my Huron interpreter to that nation, and told him to stop them should they be on the road, not knowing positively whether they were inclined to favor you or us ; and to tell them from me they should behave peaceably ; that I knew what I owed to my General, and that when the capitulation should be settled, I was obliged to obey. The said interpreter has orders to wait on you, and deliver you this.

"Be not surprised, Sir, if along the coast you find the inhabitants upon their guard. It was told them you had several Indian nations with you, to whom you had promised permission to plunder, nay, that they were even resolved to force you to it. I have therefore allowed the said inhabitants to take to their arms, as it is for your safety and preservation, as well as ours ; for, should those Indians become insolent, you may not, perhaps, in your present situation, be able to subdue them alone.

"I flatter myself, Sir, that as soon as this shall come to hand, you will send me by some of the gentlemen you have

with you, both the capitulation and Monsieur de Vaudreuil's letter. I have the honor to be, Sir,

"Your very humble and obedient servant.

"*To Major Rogers.*

"PIGN BELLESTRE."

On the next day Rogers advanced five miles up the river, and encamped. He here despatched Captain Campbell, accompanied by M. Barrager and Babee, with their parties, and they carried to Bellestre the letter which is here affixed :—

"SIR—I acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, both of which were delivered to me as yesterday. Mr. Brheme has not yet returned. The inclosed letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil will inform you of the surrender of all Canada to the king of Great Britain, and of the great indulgence granted to the inhabitants ; as also of the terms granted to the troops of his Most Christian Majesty. Capt. Campbell, whom I have sent forward with this letter, will show you the capitulation. I desire you will not detain him, as I am determined, agreeable to my instructions from General Amherst, speedily to relieve your post. I shall stop the troops I have with me at the hither end of the town till four o'clock, by which time I expect your answer. Your inhabitants will not surprise me ; as yet I have seen no other in that position, but savages waiting for my orders. I can assure you, Sir, the inhabitants of Detroit shall not be molested—they and you complying with the capitulation ; but be protected in the quiet and peaceable possession of their estates ; neither shall they be pillaged by my Indians, nor by yours that have joined me.

"I am, &c.,

"R. ROGERS."

"*To Capt. Bellestre, commanding at Detroit.*"

As soon as this last letter had been sent, he pushed his boats up the Detroit River, and drew up his detachment in a field within half a mile of the fort. He was there soon joined by Capt. Campbell, accompanied by a French officer, who stated that he bore M. Bellestre's compliments, signifying that he was under the command of the English. Lieutenants Lefflie and M'Cormick, accompanied by thirty-six Royal Americans, were then sent to take possession of Detroit. The French gar-

rison surrendered their arms, and the first English flag was raised upon the fort amid the shouts of seven hundred Indians collected around that station, who exulted that their prediction respecting the crow was verified.*

Contrary to the expectations of the English, the savages around Detroit seemed amazed at the submission of the French, expressed gratitude that they were not massacred, and declared, that "they would always for the future fight for a nation thus favored by Him that ruled the world." Rogers having arrived at the fort, received a plan and a list of the stores from the commandant, disarmed the militia, and administered to them the oath of allegiance. The commandant Bellestre and the prisoners of war were placed under the care of Lieutenant Holmes and thirty Rangers, to be escorted to Philadelphia. A party of twenty men were also sent to bring the French troops from the posts on that side of Lake Erie,† and a company under the charge of Captain Campbell was placed in command of Detroit.

Having made a treaty with several tribes of Indians in the neighboring country, Major Rogers advanced toward Lake Huron, for the purpose of taking possession also of Michilimackinac. The ice in that lake, however, obstructed his passage, and he could not proceed by water. He therefore seriously meditated crossing the country by land to that fort. He was informed by the Indians that such a journey was impracticable without snow-shoes; and he was accordingly obliged to return to Detroit without accomplishing that object. The ammunition which he had taken from the stores being deposited at Detroit, he departed from this fort on the 21st of December, 1760, for Pittsburgh, leaving Captain Campbell in charge of the station. Thus the French power in Michigan was forever overthrown.

* See Rogers's Journal, *passim*.

† These forts are termed by Rogers *Miamie* and *Gatenois*. Rogers's Journal, p. 229.

CHAPTER VII.

Social condition of Michigan after the Conquest—Policy of Pontiac—Outbreak of the Pontiac war—Siege of Detroit—Battle of Bloody Bridge—Hostile demonstrations around Michilimackinac—Speech of Menavavana—Speech of a Chippewa chief to Henry the Trader—Wawatam—Destruction of Michilimackinac—Arrival of Bradstreet—Indians dispersed.

THE social condition of Michigan was not much altered by the transfer of its dominion from the French to the British government. The French subjects were permitted, by the capitulation of Montreal, to remain in the country, in the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights; and the fur trade was prosecuted upon the lakes with much energy by English companies, who employed French agents in its prosecution. So far as the advancement of agriculture and colonization were concerned, the policy of England in Michigan was not better than that of France. About the year 1763 the British monarch issued a proclamation, restricting the extinguishment of native title. The English governors were prohibited by this proclamation to issue grants of land, excepting within certain prescribed limits; and the English subjects were also forbidden to make purchases of the Indians, or settlements, without those bounds.* These grants, purchases, and settlements, were, however, made, and they form an important part of the ancient claims to land, afterwards adjudged by the land board of Michigan. Even after the treaty which granted the right of possession to the limited states, this power was assumed on the part of its inhabitants. Settlements were made by the French along the principal streams of the lakes. The farms scattered upon the banks of the rivers were of narrow form, surrounded by pickets, which are now the French mode of enclosure; and the cottages, about fifty in number, on the strait of Detroit, with orchards by their side, were constructed of logs, with roofs of bark or thatched with straw. It is stat-

* Report on land claims in Michigan, by the land board.

ed by a contemporary of that period, that wheat was sown in rows. Potatoes were first introduced by the English. The Canadian French were an affable and contented class of men, preserving the same habits as now prevail among them throughout the state.* Schools were unknown, and the instruction of the children continued to be derived from the Catholic priests. Coin began to be introduced under English jurisdiction, while peltries were chiefly the circulating medium. The first horses used at Detroit were introduced from Fort Duquesne, and these were taken from the English by the Indians at Braddock's defeat.†

But the English government, although it had succeeded to the dominion of the north-western lakes, did not inherit the friendship of the Algonquin tribes in that quarter. The tribes of Indians in this region at first regarded the white men as intruders, and the smile which played upon the countenance of Pontiac, when he first met the detachment of Rogers on the shore of Lake Erie, only tended to conceal a settled hatred; as the setting sunbeam bedazzles the distant thunder-cloud. He had made professions of friendship to the English, doubtless as matter of policy, until he could have time to plot their destruction. The French had been friends to his race. They had lodged in the same wigwam, drank at the same stream; they had hunted and fought side by side, and were mixed in blood.

Pontiac believed, and that conviction was probably sought to be strengthened, that it was the design of the English to drive him back from his lands. The French, doubtless, felt that dissatisfaction at the inroads of the English which was natural to a conquered people, although they professed, and in a great measure practised, neutrality. As a harbinger of some great calamity, it was believed in the superstition of the day that a black and sulphureous matter, of the color and consistency of ink, which rained on Detroit in 1762, and which was said to have been bottled and used for that purpose, portended

* Documents in manuscript, submitted by John R. Williams.

† The present small but hardy race of horses in Michigan, are of Norman stock, but diminished in size by stinted fare, hard usage, and the cold.

important events which were approaching.* Down to that period Michigan had rested in quietude, while war blazed at a distance. Its streams had rolled their liquid silver to the lakes, broken only by the fish which flashed in their current, or the swan which floated upon their surface. Vegetation flourished alone. Roses bloomed and died only to be trampled by the deer or the savage ; and strawberries studded the ground with rubies where the green and sunny hill-sides reposed amid the silence like sleeping infants in the lap of the forest. The rattlesnake glided undisturbed through its prairies ; and the fogs, which hung in clouds over the stagnant marshes, spread no pestilence. The panther, the fox, the wolf, and the bear, roamed fearless through the more retired parts of the domain, for there were none to dispute with them their inheritance. But clouds thickened. In the darkness of midnight and the solitude of the wilderness, the tomahawk and the scalping knife were forged for their work of death. Counsels were held by the lake tribes, in which was discussed their new position in regard to the power which had advanced upon their lands. They determined on revenge. Speeches were made under the voiceless stars, which were heard by none save God and their allies ; and the war-song echoed from the banks of lakes which had never been pressed by the footstep of civilized man. The war belt was circulated through the remotest Indian villages, and savage bands were marshalled for the approaching storm.

The period now arrived in which was enacted the most impressive and dramatic scene in the history of Michigan. Pontiac, the Algonquin chief, was the master spirit who brought this drama into action ; and from its origin to its termination he was the prominent figure upon the stage. It may be safely alleged that no American savage has exhibited a more marked character, in his power of mind to grasp great designs, or in his bold and strong arm in carrying them into execution. He had evinced great judgment and clearness of discrimination in his interviews with Major Rogers. He

* See Carver for this fact.

sought to inform himself of the discipline of the English forces, inquired the mode of manufacturing cloth and iron; and, even wishing to see England, offered a part of his country to the English commandant if he would take him there. He also had stated to the English that he was willing to remain in subordination to the king of Great Britain, pay a yearly tribute in furs, and call him his *uncle*.* After the surrender of the country, he intimated that he was also ready to encourage the settlement of the English in his country so long as they treated him with respect; but that if they failed in this, he should exclude them from it and "shut up the way." These remarks might have been merely policy, but at all events it is clear that he did not consider himself conquered.

No sooner, therefore, were the English established on the lakes, than he projected the design of undermining their power in this quarter by destroying their forts. His plan was to attack the English posts at the same time by stratagem, to massacre their garrisons, take possession of these points, and oppose the advance of the British upon the north-western waters. He presumed, on good ground, that the success of the Indians in this enterprise would establish their confidence, and combine them in one general confederacy against the English government. In his operations, facts to excite their passions were furnished in the conduct of the British soldiers, who had not endeavored to conciliate the Indians, and in the cold indifference manifested by the English traders, which was strongly contrasted with the sociality and kindness of the French. Some of his own tribe, the Ottawas, had been disgraced by blows from the English intruders. After the plan of his policy had been matured in his mind, Pontiac called a grand council of warriors at the river Aux Georces, and he there addressed them with great vigor and eloquence. Taking advantage of that superstition which belongs to the Indian character, he stated that the Great Spirit had appeared to a Delaware Indian in a dream, in which the course of the In-

* Rogers's account of North America.

dians at this crisis was clearly prescribed. He told them that the Great Spirit had ordered them to abstain from ardent spirits, to cast away the manufactures of the white men, to return to the use of the skins of wild beasts for clothing, and to resume their bows and war-clubs. "Why," said the Great Spirit to the Delaware, "do you allow these dogs in red clothing, (the English), to enter your country and take the land I gave you? Drive them from it; and when you are in distress I will help you." He also showed them a belt, which he pretended to have received from the French king, urging him to drive out the British, and secure the return of the French. The speech of Pontiac had its full effect; for the motives urged appealed to the pride, interest, superstition, and nationality of the savages. Belts and messages were soon after sent to the Indians along the whole line of frontier, stretching a thousand miles on the lakes, in order to secure their co-operation.* Among those who were inclined to join this plot were the Miamies, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, the Wyandots, the Potawatamies, the Mississagas, the Shawanese, the Ottagamies, and the Winnebagoes; and their plan was successful in reducing at the same time the forts of Le Bœuf, Venango, and Presque Isle; on Lake Erie, Green Bay, St. Joseph; on the St. Joseph river in Michigan, Miami Ouaitonon; upon the Wabash, Sandusky and Michilimackinac. Pittsburg, Niagara, and Detroit, only escaped.

During the month of May, 1763,† the attack was commenced on these several posts about the same time, before any suspicion had been excited on the part of the English. It broke out like lightning from the midnight cloud. Pittsburg and Niagara were regularly fortified, and the Iroquois, who had attacked these posts, were unsuccessful in razing them. The first fort was saved by the expedition of Col. Bonquet, who dispersed the besiegers with the bayonet.

Detroit ‡ was then deemed, from its location, the most impor-

* Cass.

† Carver says the date of Pontiac's siege was in 1762. Henry was an actor in that scene, and is entitled to most credit.

‡ This name is derived from the French word Detroit, signifying that it was on the strait between Lake Erie and Lake St. Clair.

tant English post, as it commanded an extensive region of navigation and trade upon the upper lakes, and stood at the very broad gate of the north-western waters. At the city the Detroit River is about half a mile wide. The possession of this post would break the allegiance of the French inhabitants on the river, and form a chain of operation for the savages from Lake Michigan to Buffalo and Pittsburgh. Pontiac determined, therefore, to undertake its capture in person. At that time the town was garrisoned by one hundred and twenty-two men and eight officers, of whom Major Gladwyn, who had succeeded Captain Campbell, was commandant.* It was environed by three rows of pickets, forming nearly a square. At each corner, and over the gates, there were erected block-houses; and between the houses and pickets there was a circular space, called the *Chemin du Ronde*, which formed a place of deposite for arms. Anchored on the river in front of the town, were two armed vessels, one called the Beaver, for the purpose of its defence; and the fort was protected by three mortars—two six-pounders and one three-pounder. These, however, were badly mounted, and seemed to be better calculated to terrify the Indians than for substantial defence. In the limits of the town there were also about forty-two traders and persons connected with the fur trade, who were provided with provisions and arms, besides the few families who were settled within the palisade. Most of the houses were enclosed within the pickets, for the purpose of securing them by the protection of the fort, while only a few French farms were scattered along the banks of the river.†

The plan which was devised by Pontiac to destroy the fort of Detroit, exhibited remarkable cunning as well as strategy. He had ordered the Indians to saw off their rifles so as to conceal them under their blankets, gain admission to the fort, and, at a pre-concerted signal, which was the delivery of a belt of wampum in a certain way, to rush upon the

* Cass

† For valuable facts connected with the war of the Pontiac confederacy, I am indebted to the discourse of Lewis Cass, our minister to France, before the Historical Society of Michigan.

troops, massacre the officers, and open the gates to the warriors on the outside, who should stand ready to co-operate with those within. In order to carry this plan into execution, he encamped at a little distance from Detroit, and sent word to Major Gladwyn that he and his warriors wished to hold a council with the English commandant on the following day, that "they might brighten the chain of peace." This was the 8th of May, 1763. The council was granted. On the evening of that day, an Indian woman, who had been employed by Major Gladwyn to make him a pair of elk skin moccasins, which he intended to present to a friend, brought them to the fort. These were finished in so handsome a manner, that he requested the woman to take back the remainder of the skin, and make them into others for himself. He then paid her for those which she had made, and ordered his servant to see her from the fort. Having arrived at the gate which looks out upon the Detroit River, she lingered as if her business had been unfinished; and this conduct excited some remark. The servant of the commandant was ordered to inquire the reason of her delay, but he could procure no satisfactory answer. At length the commandant called her within the fort, and inquired why she loitered about the gate, and did not hasten home before they were shut, so that she might complete the moccasins at the proper time. She replied that the commandant had treated her with great kindness, and that she did not wish to take the skin away, as he prized it so much, because she could "*never bring it back.*" Something seemed to be struggling in her bosom for utterance, and at length, after a promise that the disclosure should not turn to her disadvantage, and that, if profitable, she might be rewarded, this Indian woman, named Catharine, developed the plot. Major Gladwyn mentioned his apprehensions to the officer next in command, but he deemed it a mere trick to frighten him, and not worthy of consideration. The night was occupied in making the proper preparations; the ammunition was examined and arranged, and every man within the fort, both trader and soldier, was directed to be prepared for

sudden and active service.* The defences of the fort were strengthened, the arms made ready, and during the night guards were kept upon the ramparts. The war songs and dances of the Indians, which generally precede any important enterprise, breaking upon the silence of midnight, only strengthened his suspicions that the Indian woman had told the truth. In the morning of the 9th, about ten o'clock, Pontiac and his warriors repaired to the fort of Detroit, and they were immediately admitted to the council-house, where they were received by Major Gladwyn and his officers. During their progress toward the fort, the savages had noticed a remarkable parade of soldiers upon the ramparts and within the town, and that the officers in the council chamber, and also the Governor, had each pistols in their belts. When the Indians were seated on their skins in the council chamber, Pontiac inquired what was the cause of this extraordinary military preparation; and he was told that it was necessary to keep the soldiers to rigid discipline. The council commenced by a speech from Pontiac, in which he professed the utmost friendship for the English; and as he approached the period of the concerted signal, the delivery of the belt of wampum, his gesticulations became more violent. Near the period which had been described by the Indian woman as the time when the belt was to be delivered, and the fire upon the garrison commenced, the Governor and his officers drew their swords from their scabbards; and the soldiers of the fort, who had been drawn around the doors of the council-house, which had been intentionally left open, made a clattering upon the ground with their arms. Pontiac, whose eagle eye had never quailed in battle, turned pale and trembled, and delivered the belt in the usual manner; while his warriors looked at each other with astonishment, but continued calm.†

Pontiac's speech having been concluded, Major Gladwyn commenced his answer; but instead of thanking Pontiac for his professions of friendship, he accused him of being a traitor; and in order to convince him of his knowledge of the plot, he

* Carver.

† Ibid.

advanced toward the chief who sat nearest, and drawing aside his blanket, disclosed the shortened rifle. He advised him at the same time, to leave the fort before his young men should discover the design and massacre the Indians; and assured him that his person should be held safe until he had advanced beyond the pickets, as he had promised him safety. As soon as the warriors had retired from the gates of the fort, they gave the yell, and fired upon the English garrison. They then proceeded to the Commons, where an Englishwoman and her two sons resided. These they massacred and scalped. The cannibalism of the savages at that time is exhibited in the fact that a respectable Frenchman was requested to repair to their camp and partake of some soup. He complied with this invitation, and after he had finished his repast, was told that he had eaten a part of this English woman.* About three miles up the river Detroit, and in full view of the city, is an island, which is named from the fact that it was formerly used as a pasturing ground for stock. It is called *Isle de Corhonor*, and stands like a fortress guarding the entrance of the upper lakes. A Frenchman by the name of Jocelyn, who was herding cattle on this island, and a discharged sergeant from the fort, and his family, with the exception of one, were also massacred about the same time by the savages;† and the siege of Detroit was then regularly commenced.

The savages soon stationed themselves behind the buildings which were scattered outside of the pickets, and from these buildings, as well as the pickets, they commenced a constant firing upon the British; which, however, did but little damage. So weak did the commandant consider his own position, that he had nearly determined to evacuate the fort, embark in the armed schooner on the river, and retire to Niagara, as he feared a direct assault; but he was assured by the French inhabitants, that such a course would not be undertaken by the Indians, and he gave up the project.‡ Measures

* Mrs. Turnbull, to whom Major Gladwyn had granted a plantation.

† In another account it is stated that James Fisher and his wife, and also four soldiers who were with him, were murdered, and that his children and servant-maid were taken prisoners.—Thatcher.

‡ Cass's Discourse.

were immediately taken to burn the buildings which could furnish covert to the Indians, by hot shot and occasional sorties made from the fort. Shells were discharged, and the Indians practised running toward these shells, and blowing out the matches before they had exploded, with exulting yells. The wilderness poured forth its ferocious bands of savages like vultures around the dead. Pontiac, although he was the chief actor in this siege, was aided by several Chippewa and Ottawa warriors, who maintained a subordinate part. Among these were Mahigam the Wolf; Wabanamy the White Sturgeon; *Kittacoinsi*, he that climbs; *Agouchiois*, a friend to the French, all of the Ottawa tribe; and also Gayashque, Wasson Macataywasson, and Pashquior, Chippewa chiefs.* When the buildings around the fort had been demolished, the Indians approached a low ridge which overlooked the pickets, and from this they kept up a fire upon the garrison.

During the Pontiac war Detroit was stored with a large quantity of valuable goods, alleged to amount to the value of five hundred thousand pounds; and in addition to that, its demolition would unite the chain of operation among the Indians, which was broken by the establishment of the English at that post. Its actual position during the siege may be inferred from the following letter, dated Detroit, July 6th, 1763:

“ We have been besieged here two months, by six hundred Indians. We have been upon the watch night and day, from the commanding officer to the lowest soldier, from the 8th of May; and have not had our cloaks off, nor slept all night since it began, and shall continue so till we have a reinforcement up. We then hope to give a good account of the savages. Their camp lies about a mile and a half from the fort; and that is the nearest they choose to come now. For the first two or three days we were attacked by three or four hundred of them, but we gave them so warm a reception, that they don't care for coming to see us; though they now and then get behind a house or garden, and fire at us about three or four hundred yards distance. The day before yesterday we

* Manuscript documents from John R. Williams.

killed a chief and three others, and wounded some more. Yesterday went up with our sloop, and battered their cabins in such a manner that they are glad to keep farther off."

The letter here affixed, is dated the 9th :—

" You have long ago heard of our pleasant situation, but the storm is blown over. Was it not very agreeable to hear every day of their cutting, carving, boiling and eating our companions? To see every day dead bodies floating down the river, mangled and disfigured. But Britons, you know, never shrink. We always appeared gay, to spite the rascals. They boiled and eat Sir Robert Devers; and we are informed by Mr. Pauli, who escaped the other day from one of the stations surprised at the breaking out of the war, and commanded by himself, that he had seen an Indian have the skin of Captain Robertson's arm for a tobacco-pouch.

" Three days ago, a party of us went to demolish a breast-work they had made. We finished our work, and were returning home; but the fort espying a party of Indians coming up as if they intended to fight, we were ordered back, made our dispositions and advanced briskly. Our front was fired upon warmly, and returned the fire for about five minutes. In the meantime Captain Hopkins, with about twenty men, filed off to the left, and about *twenty French volunteers* filed off to the right, and got between them and their fires. The villains immediately fled, and we returned, as was prudent; for a sentry, whom I had placed, informed me he saw a body of them coming down from the woods; and our party being but about eighty, was not able to cope with their united bands. In short, we beat them handsomely, and yet did not much hurt to them, for they ran extremely well. We only killed their leader and wounded three others. One of them fired at me at the distance of fifteen or twenty paces, but I suppose my terrible visage made him tremble. I think I shot him."*

* In order to show the power of Pontiac over the tribes, it is stated in the Detroit Diary, a somewhat garbled account of the Pontiac war, "that a Mr. Rutherford fell into the hands of the savages, and that a Frenchman was employed by one of the garrison to redeem him. Eighty pounds' worth of goods were given for that object. He had scarcely been released, when Pontiac sent a band of fifty

The position of Pontiac had long been prominent as the principal chief of the Indian tribes upon the borders of the lakes. He had before fought with great success; and as early as 1746 he commanded a body of Indians, mainly Ottawas, in the defence of Detroit against the combined northern tribes under *Mackinac* the Turtle.* The Ottawas had, in fact, ever since the year 1705, been strong allies of the French; and their friendship was of great assistance in facilitating the colonial establishments on the lakes. The French, in return, were warm in their attachment to the lake tribes, and it is well known that a part of them instigated the action of Pontiac. This was only attributable, however, to individuals; the body of the French people preserved their faith, and a number of the French also volunteered for the English against the Pontiac confederacy at the siege of Detroit. The basis of their attachment is exhibited in the subjoined extract of an Indian speech made in 1646:—"When the French arrived at these falls," said a Chippewa chief, "they came and kissed us. They called us children, and we found them fathers. We lived like brethren in the same lodge, and we always had wherewithal to clothe us. They never mocked our ceremonies, and they never molested the places of our dead. Seven generations of men have passed away, but we have not forgotten it. Just, very just, were they towards us."*

All the means which the savage mind could suggest, were employed by Pontiac to demolish the settlement of Detroit, and a desultory war was carried on. Blazing arrows were shot into the chapel by his warriors, for the purpose of burning it; and this would have been effected, had not a French Jesuit convinced Pontiac that its conflagration would call down the judgments of the Great Spirit. During the siege, the savages endeavored to make a breach in the pickets, and, aided by Gladwyn, who, as a stratagem, had ordered his men to cut also on the inside, this was soon accomplished, and the

Indians, to carry him back by force. "No nation," said he, "should have liberty to sell their prisoners till the war was over."

* Were not these "Northern tribes" the Iroquois?

† Consult Schoolcraft's Discourse.

breach was soon filled with Indians. At this instant a brass four-pounder was discharged upon the advancing savages, which made a destructive havoc. After that period the fort was merely invested ; supplies were cut off, and the English were reduced to great distress from the diminution of their rations.

Major Rogers had given the command of the fort of Detroit to Major Campbell, and he had held it since the surrender of the country, although he had been once superseded. This officer was well known to the Indians, and was esteemed for his kindness both by the French and savages. It was made a point of policy by Pontiac to get this officer into his possession, as a pledge for the surrender of the fort ; and for that object he requested some of the principal French inhabitants to seek an interview with Major Campbell, and inform him that Pontiac wished him to come to his camp, in order that that they might terminate the war and smoke the pipe of peace. Godfroy and Chapoton, two estimable French citizens, advised this interview, on the solemn promise by Pontiac that he should return to the fort in safety. In order to bring the war to a peaceful termination if possible, he consented ; and, accompanied by Lieut. McDougall, he repaired to the Indian quarters, and was, at first, well received. The crafty chief, however, did not comply with his promise, and the English officers were at length detained at the house of M. Melvehi, near Bloody Bridge. Campbell was offered his life for the surrender of the fort ; but the unprincipled conduct which Pontiac had before manifested, weakened all confidence in his word. The prisoners were permitted to walk out from time to time, but little chance seemed offered for escape, as they were surrounded by Indians. Lieut. McDougall proposed to attempt it, but as his sight was somewhat affected, he declined the proposition. McDougall, however, afterwards made his escape, and reached the fort of Detroit without injury. The fate of Major Campbell was of unfortunate termination. An Ottawa chief of note had been killed at Michilimackinac, and his nephew, who was in that siege, had hastened for revenge to Bloody Bridge. Here he found Ma-

for Campbell, and immediately despatched him with his tomahawk ; and the savage then fled to Saginaw, to escape the vengeance of Pontiac, who was justly indignant at this act.

While the siege was in progress, and on the 21st of May, the smaller vessel, which had been anchored in the river, was despatched to Niagara to hasten the arrival of a reinforcement with arms and provisions, which had been expected. Twenty batteaux, which had been sent from that place with a detachment of troops and army stores, arrived at Pont Pelee, apprehending no danger, and there they encamped. The detachment consisted of Green's Rangers, amounting to ninety-seven men, with Lieut. Cuyler. The Indians who were stationed at that place, had watched their movements, and had marked their place of encampment, and about the dawn of day they were attacked and massacred. All the men in this expedition were either taken or killed, excepting one officer, who rushed to a boat with thirty men, and crossed Lake Erie to Sandusky Bay. These barges were guarded by the Indians, who compelled the British prisoners to navigate the boats, while they were escorted toward Detroit by the Indians on the Canadian bank of the river. When they arrived near the fort, four British soldiers in the first batteau determined to effect their liberation or die in the attempt ; and by suddenly changing the course of the boat, they made their intentions known to the crew of the armed schooner near the shore by loud cries.* The Indian guards on board this boat leaped overboard ; and one of them dragged a soldier with him into the water, where they were both drowned. The fugitives in their escape, were fired upon by the Indians in the other boats, and also by those on the bank ; but no injury was done, excepting the wounding of one soldier, as the Indians were soon dispersed by the fire from the armed schooner on the Detroit side. The other soldiers escaped to the shore in the boat, which soon reached the vessel. In order to prevent their escape, the remaining prisoners were immediately landed and marched up to Hog Island, where they were massacred and scalped. On the 30th

* Cass.

instant, the sentinel had first announced that the fleet of boats was coming round the point of the Huron Church, and the English had assembled on the ramparts to witness the arrival of their friends ; but they were only greeted by the death-song of the savages, which announced their death. The light of hope flickered on their countenance only to be clouded with the thick darkness of despair. It was these barges ; but they were in possession of the savages, and filled with the scalps and prisoners of the English detachment.

During the siege, the body of the French people maintained a neutral relation toward the Indians and the English, although a few Canadians had aided their cause, who were held in contempt by their countrymen. They had taken the oath of allegiance, and were prisoners of war under capitulation. This neutrality was necessary to be preserved unless they chose to place themselves in the attitude of revolution. The fact that they did not take side with the Indians, roused a feeling of disaffection in the minds of the savages ; and their doors were broken open, their provisions plundered, and their cattle killed by the forces of Pontiac. Some remuneration was, however, subsequently made by the Ottawa in levying upon the French for his supplies. He appointed a commissary, and issued bills of credit made of bark, with an otter, the *totem* of his tribe, drawn upon them, and delivered these to the French people. These bills, when payable, were faithfully redeemed.

But the Indians soon discovered that their power was insufficient for the reduction of the fort of Detroit ; and they were anxious to form a league with the French for that object. Pontiac therefore called a council of his warriors and the principal French inhabitants near Detroit, on the 23d of May, 1763, and addressed to them the following speech :—

“My Brothers,” these were his words, “I have no doubt but this war is very troublesome to you ; and that my warriors, who are continually passing and repassing through your settlements, frequently kill your cattle and injure your property. I am sorry for it ; and hope you do not think I am pleased with this conduct of my young men. And as a proof of my

friendship, recollect the war you had seventeen years ago (1746), and the part I took in it. The northern nations combined together, and came to destroy you. Who defended you? Was it not myself and my young men? The great chief Mackinac (the Turtle) said in council, that he would carry to his native village the head of your chief warrior, and that he would eat his heart and drink his blood. Did I not then join you, and go to his camp and say to him, if he wished to kill the French, he must pass over my body and the bodies of my young men? Did I not take hold of the tomahawk with you, aid you in fighting your battles with Mackinac, and driving him home to his country? Why do you think I would turn my arms against you? Am I not the same French Pontiac who assisted you seventeen years ago? I am a Frenchman, and I wish to die a Frenchman.

"My brothers," said Pontiac, throwing a war belt into the midst of the council, "I begin to grow tired of this bad meat which is upon our lands. I begin to see that this is not your case; for, instead of assisting us in our war with the English, you are actually assisting them. I have already told you, and I now tell you again, that when I undertook this war, it was only your interest I sought, and that I knew what I was about. I yet know what I am about. This year they must all perish. The Master of Life so orders it. His will is known to us, and we must do as he says. And you, my brethren, who know him better than we do, wish to oppose his will! Until now, I have avoided urging you upon this subject, in the hope that if you could not aid, you would not injure us. I did not wish to ask you to fight with us against the English, and I did not believe you would take part with them. You will say you are not with them. I know it; but your conduct amounts to the same thing. You will tell them all we do and say. You carry our counsels and plans to them. Now, take your choice. You must be entirely French like ourselves, or entirely English. If you are French, take this belt for yourselves and your young men, and join us. If you are English, we declare war against you."

His solicitations, however did not prevail; and the French

continued steadfast in their neutrality. Many were, however, in the confidence of the Indians, and a French citizen, M. Beaufait, had been shown the shortened rifle, and informed of the plot on the morning in which it was to be executed, by one of the warriors, the last in the party of Pontiac, and a particular friend whom he had met with the band during that morning upon Bloody Bridge. But the news arrived on the 3d of June of the treaty of peace of 1763, by which the country was ceded to England, and thus furnished a double bond to maintain their neutrality. When, therefore, Pontiac solicited them to join his cause against the English, one of the principal citizens was authorized to speak in the name of that people. Exhibiting the articles of peace between the French and the British governments, he replied, "My brother, you see that our arms are tied by our great father, the king; untie this knot, and we will join you. Till that is done, we shall sit quietly upon our mats."

About this time the vessel which had been despatched to Niagara, arrived at the mouth of the Detroit River, with sixty troops, and supplied with provisions and arms. The Indians had made every attempt to capture this vessel, which had been impeded from sailing up the river by the course of the wind. For the purpose of boarding her as she ascended, the forces of Pontiac left the siege of Detroit, and repaired to Fighting Island, which is just below the city. At the mouth of the river the Indians had annoyed her in their canoes, but she soon left under a brisk wind, and reached the point of that island, where it failed, and she was there obliged to anchor. For the purpose of concealing the strength of the vessel, the Captain had concealed his men in the hold; and as soon as evening came on, the Indians proceeded in silence to board the vessel from their canoes, while the men on board were secretly ordered up to take their stations at the guns. The Indians approached near the side, when the signal for a discharge was given by a blow upon the mast with a hammer. The power of the discharge killed and wounded many, the rest escaped in their canoes; and on the next morning the vessel dropped down the river, and remained six days waiting

for a fair wind. On the 30th she arrived without accident at Detroit.*

It now became an important object with Pontiac to destroy the vessels which were anchored before the town of Detroit ; because they tended to protect the shore, and also furnished means of communication by water to the other English posts on the lakes. For that purpose the barns of many of the inhabitants were torn down, and the materials made into a raft, filled with pitch and other combustibles, which should burn with great rapidity and intenseness. The whole mass was then towed up the river, and fire was added under the supposition that the stream would carry it down in contact, and set fire to the vessels. The attempt was made, but without success. The English, aware of this attempt, had anchored boats above the vessels connected by chains so as to ward off this blazing mass. The plan was successful, and the burning rafts floated down the river without doing any damage.

On the 29th of July, a fleet of gun boats sailed up the Detroit River, each containing four swivels, two mortars ; and the whole a detachment of three hundred regular troops, under the command of Captain Dalyell, an aid-de-camp of Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in Canada. When this fleet appeared in sight, a gun was fired from the fort, and it was answered from the boats. They soon arrived in safety. Supposing that Pontiac might be surprised in his camp, a plan was concerted on that evening to march against him for that object. Accordingly, on the morning of the 31st of July, about two o'clock, Capt. Dalyell, with a force of about 247 men, marched up two deep along the Detroit River, toward Pontiac's camp : while two gun-boats in the river were pushed against the stream to cover the retreat and take off the wounded and dead. Information of this contemplated attack had been in some mode communicated to the Indians, and they removed their women and children, and prepared for the reception of the British troops. A party of war-

* The current account, connected with the order of the captain to blow up this vessel when she was attacked and the Indians were ascending her deck, does not appear to be well authenticated.

riors was stationed behind the pickets upon a neighboring farm,* and another at Bloody Bridge, which is about a mile and a half from Detroit on the main road. Here they were concealed in the high grass behind pickets and heaps of cord wood.† The British party had reached the bridge, when a sudden and destructive fire was poured upon them from the cord wood and the grass. This threw them into the utmost confusion. The attack in the darkness from an invisible force was critical. At the first fire Capt. Dalyell fell. The British fought with desperation, but were attacked on all sides, and a vigorous charge was made by the bayonet upon the positions of the Indians; but a scattering fire was kept up by the savages from every place that could furnish them a cover. At length, finding that their situation was perilous, the British were ordered to retire, which was effected without serious loss in this manœuvre, under the direction of Captain Grant, aided by that energetic and patriotic officer, Major Rogers.‡ This retreat was covered on the shore of the Detroit River by the armed gun-boats; and the whole party arrived at the fort about 8 o'clock. It was only effected, however, by driving the Indians from house to house and field to field, until a line of defence could be made toward the fort. In this action, according to the official returns, there were 19 killed and 42 wounded. The place of its occurrence is called Bloody Bridge.

* That of Mr. Dequindre,

† Consult Cass, Drake, and Thatchler.

‡ Major Rogers deserves a passing notice. One of those iron men of early times, which called forth the strongest powers of the mind and the firmest endurance of the body. He was equally successful in wielding the sword and the pen. After he had cut his way through the forests against the Indians and the French, he published a journal of his travels. He was a contemporary and rival of Gen. Putnam; and he is obnoxious to no charge but that of having turned Tory, and leaving this country for England. Cæsar and Napoleon have made conquests,

“ And fame, which all hunt after in their lives,
Lives registered upon their brazen tombs;”

while the reputation of those men who have borne the brunt of battle in a subordinate character, is overshadowed. The name of Rogers should live as long as the records of the English government in this country.

“Her lake a sheet of silver, and her plain,
Rent by no ravage save the gentle plough;
Her aged trees rise thick, as once the slain
Lay where their roots are; but a brook hath ta'en,
A little rill, of scanty stream and bed,
A name of blood from that day's sanguine rain.”

While these events were passing at Detroit, occurrences of no less interest and more destructive in their consequences, were transpiring at Michilimackinac, in the northern part of the peninsula of Michigan. They were set in motion by Pontiac, the same master-mind which had plotted the overthrow of the other posts on the lakes. At that time the fort of Michilimackinac enclosed an area of two acres. It was surrounded by pickets of cedar, was situated near the water, and when the wind was at the west the waves broke against the foot of the stockade. On the bastions there were two small pieces of brass cannon, taken some years before by a party of Canadians, in an expedition against the trading posts of Hudson's Bay. The stockade contained about thirty houses of commodious form; and also a chapel, in which mass was regularly said by a Jesuit missionary. The inhabitants at that time derived their principal support from the Indian traders, who congregated at that point in their voyages to and from Montreal. Here the furs were collected for transportation from the upper lakes, and the outfits were prepared for Lake Michigan, Lake Superior, the Mississippi, and the remote north-west. It contained, in 1763, about thirty families. The garrison at that time was composed of ninety privates, two subalterns, and the commandant; and there were then only four English merchants at the fort. Alexander Henry, an English trader, who was invested with the right of trafficking with the natives, owing to the prejudices which at that time existed against the English, was obliged to disguise himself as a Canadian on his passage to Michilimackinac. After he arrived at that place, he was visited by a body of Chippewas, sixty in number, each with his blanket thrown over his shoulder, his tomahawk in one hand and his scalping-knife in the other; with feathers thrust through their noses, their faces painted with grease and charcoal; and their bodies, which

were naked, were marked in various figures with white clay. After seating themselves around him, he was addressed in the following speech by Minavavana their chief, who at the same time gave him a few strings of wampum :—

“ Englishmen, it is to you that I speak, and I demand your attention.

“ Englishmen, you know that the French king is our father. He promised to be such, and we in return promised to be his children. This promise we have kept.

“ Englishmen, it is you that have made war with this our father. You are his enemy ; and how then could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children ? You know that his enemies are ours.

“ Englishmen, we are informed that our father, the king of France, is old and infirm ; and that, being fatigued with making war upon your nation, he has fallen asleep. During this sleep you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of Canada. But his nap is almost at an end. I think I hear him already stirring and inquiring for his children the Indians ; and when he does awake, what must become of you ? He will destroy you utterly.

“ Englishmen, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us. We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, are left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef ; but you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes and on these woody mountains.

“ Englishmen, our father, the king of France, employed our young men to make war upon your nation. In this warfare many of them have been killed ; and it is our custom to retaliate until such time as the spirits of the slain are satisfied. But the spirits of the slain are to be satisfied in either of two ways : the first is, by the spilling the blood of the nation by which they fell ; the other, by covering the bodies of the dead,

and thus allaying the resentment of their relations. This is done by making presents.

“Englishmen, your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us; wherefore he and we are still at war; and until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father or friend among the white men than the king of France. But for you, we have taken into consideration that you have ventured among us in the expectation that we should not molest you. You do not come armed, with an intention to make war. You come in peace to trade with us, and supply us with necessaries of which we are in much want. We shall regard you, therefore, as a brother; and you may sleep tranquilly, without fear of the Chippewas. As a token of our friendship, we present you with this pipe to smoke.”*

Henry was afterwards visited by a party of two hundred Ottawa warriors, from L'Arbre Crocke, about seventy miles west of Michilimackinac, at the entrance of Lake Michigan, which was then the seat of the Jesuit mission of *St. Ignace de Michilimackinac*. One of their chiefs addressed him in these words, which exhibit the feelings of this tribe toward the French and English.

This speech was addressed to Henry and two other merchants, in the council-room of the commandant's house at Michilimackinac, just as the trader was about to leave that place with his goods:—

“Englishmen, We, the Ottawas, were some time since informed of your arrival in this country, and of your having brought with you the goods of which we have much need. At this news we were greatly pleased, believing that, through your assistance, our wives and children would be enabled to pass another winter; but what was our surprise when, a few days ago, we were again informed that the goods which, as we had expected, were intended for us, were on the eve of departure for distant countries, of which some are inhabited by our enemies. These accounts being spread, our wives and children

* Henry, p. 43.

came to us, crying, and desiring that we should go to the fort, to learn with our ears their truth or falsehood. We accordingly embarked almost naked as you see, and on our arrival here, we have inquired into the accounts, and found them true. We see your canoes ready to depart, and find your men engaged for the Mississippi and other distant regions.

Under these circumstances we have considered the affair, and you are now sent for ; that you may hear our determination, which is, that you shall give to each of our men, young and old, merchandize and ammunition to the amount of fifty beaver skins on credit ; and for which I have no doubt of their paying you in the summer, on their return from their wintering.”*

Previous to the time of the attack upon Michilimackinac, the Indians were noticed assembling from the surrounding forests in great numbers, with every appearance of friendship, ostensibly for the purpose of disposing of their peltries ; and during one night, four hundred lay around the fort. On the 2d day of June, Powatan, a Chippewa chief, who had manifested a strong attachment to Henry, came to his house, and told him he was sorry the trader had returned from the Sault ; that he was desirous himself to leave Michilimackinac, and requested Henry to return with him on the following morning. The Chippewa chief also inquired of him whether the commandant, Major Etherington, had heard bad news ; and stated that he himself had been disturbed by “ the *noise of evil birds* ;” and also informed the English trader that there were many Indians near the fort, who had not shown themselves inside. These requests and hints were urged again on the following day. Major Etherington was informed by Henry of his suspicions, but no notice was taken of his remarks, as they were supposed to be the mere designs of the Indians, to produce fear.

The next day was the king’s birth-day, and the morning was sultry. In order to celebrate this event, a game was pro-

* Henry, p. 48.

posed to be played between the Chippewas and Sacs for a high wager. This game was called *baggatiway*, and it was played with a bat and ball. The bat is about four feet long, carved, and it is terminated in a racket. Two posts are planted in the ground about a mile apart, and each party having its post, the game consists in propelling the ball, which is placed in the centre, toward the post of the adversary in the game.

On the day previous, the Indians had been noticed repairing in great numbers to the fort at Michilimackinac to purchase tomahawks; and they frequently desired to see silver arm-bands, and other barbaric ornaments, which Henry had for sale. These ornaments were not, however, purchased; but after inspecting them, the Indians told him they would call the next day. The manifest design of these visits was that they might discover the place of their deposit, so that they might know the point for pillage.

The design of the Indians was to throw the ball over the pickets, and it was natural, in the heat of the game, that all the Indians should rush after it. This stratagem was successful. Major Etherington, the commandant, was present at the game, and laid a wager on the side of the Chippewas, while all the garrison, who could be induced, were by some pretext drawn outside of the picket for the purpose of weakening the defences of the fort. In the midst of the game there was an Indian war-yell, and the crowd of Indians who had rushed after the ball within the pickets, were seen furiously cutting down and scalping the English within the fort; while many of the English were struggling between the knees of the Indians, who scalped them while alive. The Canadians around the fort did not oppose the Indians, or suffer any injury. Henry the trader had seen from his window the butchery of the garrison, and finding that his unaided arm was insufficient to cope with the savages, who had by that time acquired the mastery, soon crawled over a low fence which divided his own house from that of M. Langlade, and entering, requested some aid by which he could be preserved from the general massacre. M. Langlade, a Canadian, who had been

looking out at his own window, turned for a moment to the trader, and shrugging his shoulders, replied in French that he could do nothing for him. “*Que voudriez-vous, que j'en ferais ?*” said this white savage. At that moment, a slave belonging to Langlade, of the Pawnee tribe of Indians, carried him to a door, which she opened, and informed him that it led to the garret, where he was desired to conceal himself. She then locked the door with great presence of mind, and took away the key. Through an aperture in the wall Henry could command a complete view of the fort. He beheld the barbarian triumphs of the savages in their foulest and blackest form. Heaps of dead lay around the fort, scalped and mangled. The dying were shrieking and writhing under the tomahawk and scalping-knife, the bodies of the English soldiers were gashed, and their blood was drank by the savages from the hollows of joined hands, amid demon-like yells. Henry remained in terrible suspense for some time, until he heard the cry, “All is finished,” and at the same time some of the Indians entered the house where he was concealed, and inquired of Langlade whether there were any Englishmen in the house. M. Langlade replied that he could not say, that he did not know of any, they might examine for themselves. The Pawnee slave had secreted Henry by stealth, and did not communicate the fact to any body. The Indians, however, were brought to the garret door. The key was soon produced, and the Indians, besmeared with blood and armed with tomahawks, ascended the stairs just as Henry had crept into a heap of birch-bark vessels, which were used in making maple sugar, and which lay in the further end of the garret. After making two or three turns around the room, they departed without discovering him. The dark color of his clothes, and the absence of light in the room probably prevented his discovery. There was at that time a mat in the room, and Henry fell asleep ; and he was finally awakened by the wife of M. Langlade, who had gone up to stop a hole in the roof. She was surprised to see him there, remarked that the Indians had killed most of the English, but that he might hope to escape. Henry lay there during the night. All chance of flight seemed to

be lost. He was without provisions, surrounded by savage enemies, and was four hundred miles from Detroit.

At length the wife of Langlade determined to point out Henry's place of concealment, and showed the Indians the garret. Her design, she stated, was to prevent the destruction of her own children, which would take place if an Englishman was discovered concealed in her house. Unlocking the door, she was followed by several Indians, naked down to their waist, and intoxicated, who were led by *Wenniway*, a chief. This warrior was more than six feet in height, and his face and body were covered with charcoal and grease, with the exception of a ring of two inches in diameter, which encircled each eye. At their entrance Henry roused himself from the bed which was in the garret, and *Wenniway*, a chief, advancing with lips compressed, seized him by the coat with one hand, and with the other held a large carving-knife, as if to plunge it into his breast, while his eyes were steadfastly fixed on his. Gazing for a moment, he dropped his arm, and said, "I won't kill you." He had been engaged in many wars with the English, and had lost a brother, whose name was Musinigon. "You shall be called after him," said the savage. Henry was afterwards stripped of his clothes. He was subsequently carried to L'Arbre Croche as a prisoner, where he was rescued by a band of three hundred Ottawas, by whom, however, he was soon returned, and finally ransomed by Wawatam. Several of the bodies of the English who had been slain at Michilimackinac, were boiled and eaten; and Henry, when a prisoner, was given bread by the Indians cut with the knife which had scalped his countrymen. At the capture of Michilimackinac only one trader, M. Tracy, lost his life. Seventy of the English troops were killed, and the rest, together with the prisoners at St. Joseph and Green Bay, were kept in safety by the Ottawas until peace, and then freely restored or ransomed at Montreal. The massacre of the garrison, and the destruction of the fort by burning, completed this project, which exhibits the strongest lines of tragedy. A number of canoes, filled with English traders, also arrived about the same time; and these were dragged through

the water, beaten, and marched by the Indians to the prison lodge. The massacre took place on the 3d of June; and the savages, who were about four hundred in number, entertaining apprehensions of the English and the other Indians who had not joined them, soon retired to the island of Mackinaw. There Henry was concealed by Wawatam from the intoxication of the savages in the "salt rock," where he lay for one night on a heap of human bones. The post of Michilimackinac having been destroyed, the savages seemed to have glutted their revenge; while some repaired to the post at Detroit, to aid Pontiac in that siege.*

The operations of Pontiac in this quarter soon called for efficient aid on the part of the English Government; and during the season, Gen. Bradstreet arrived to the relief of the posts on the lakes with an army of three thousand men. Having burned the Indian corn-fields and villages at Sandusky and along the rich bottoms of the Maumee, and dispersed the Indians whom he there found, he reached Detroit without opposition. The tribes of Pontiac, with the exception of the Delawares and Shawanese, finding that they could not successfully compete with such a force, laid down their arms and concluded a treaty of peace. Pontiac,† however, took no part in the negotiation, and retired to the Illinois, where he was assassinated, about the year 1767, by an Indian of the Peoria tribe. The Ottawas, the Potawatamies, and the Chippewas, made common cause in revenging his death, by waging war and nearly exterminating the tribes of the murderer. That

* I have had the inspection of a French manuscript, "Journal of the Pontiac War," written during its occurrence. The record is, however, discolored by time, garbled, and unsatisfactory; amplifying on unimportant details, and exhibiting no connected chain of prominent facts. I am also indebted in this place to the MSS. of John R. Williams; also to Henry's account.

† A bottle of brandy was at one time sent to Pontiac by Col. Rogers; and his warriors cautioned him not to taste it, lest it might be poisoned. Pontiac, however, rejected their advice. "He cannot take my life," said the Ottawa chief, "I have saved his." In commenting on this anecdote, the Abbe Raynal remarks:—"A hundred traits of equal elevation have fixed upon Pontiac the gaze of the savage nations. He wished to re-unite all his tribes for the purpose of making their territory and independence respected, but unfortunate circumstances prevented the project." *Raynal, Hist. Phil. Pub.*

terrific drama, got up by this son of the forest, stamps his name with greatness. The living marble and the glowing canvass may not embody his works ; but they are identified with the soil of the western forest, and will live as long as the remembrance of its aboriginal inhabitants, the Algonquin race.*

* It is stated of the treatment by the Indians of Captain Campbell, that "they boiled his heart and ate it, and made a pouch of the skin of his arms." The terms of submission proposed by Pontiac to Campbell, after he was secured as a prisoner, were, that the British should lay down their arms, as their fathers, the French, had before been obliged to do ; leave their cannon, magazines, and merchants' goods, and be escorted in batteaux to Niagara. He was answered by that officer, that he had not been sent there to deliver up the fort to Indians or any body else, and that he would therefore defend it so long as a single man could stand by his side. The siege was thereupon re-commenced, and it was conducted with such perseverance, that for months the whole garrison, officers, soldiers, merchants, and servants, were upon the ramparts every night, not one having slept in a house, except the sick and wounded in the hospital.—*Detroit Diary*.

CHAPTER VIII.

Condition of Michigan after the Pontiac war—The Hudson's Bay Company—The North-west Company—The American Fur Company—Administration of the law by the English—Silver found in Lake Huron—Project for working the Copper Mines of Lake Superior—Condition during the American Revolution—Byrd's Expedition—Governor Hamilton's Expedition—Indian relations—Netawatwees—Captain Pipe—White Eyes—German Missionaries carried to Detroit—Indian Council—Speech of Captain Pipe—Missionaries acquitted.

AFTER the Pontiac war, a system of conciliation was exercised by the English toward the Indians as well as toward the French citizens. The energies of the few scattered inhabitants continued to be devoted to the fur trade rather than to the pursuit of agriculture. Grants were made by the English commandants of the forts on the lakes, and along the principal streams in Michigan; which, however, were unauthorized by the British Government. Similar grants were also executed by the Indians. After the post of Michilimackinac was destroyed, the English made a permanent settlement on the island of Mackinaw. On the accession of the English, little attention was paid to the old French laws; and upon the treaty of 1763, new courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction were established, in which the laws of England were introduced. This treaty, made at Paris, surrendered the dominion of Michigan from France to England, the "Family Compact" which had been made between France and Spain, to sustain the jurisdiction of the country, having fallen to the ground. In 1756 the French settlements extended along the banks of the Detroit River for twenty miles above and below the town of Detroit.* The country, then productive, was used in the cultivation of oats, buck-wheat, peas, wheat, and Indian corn; and was also remarkable for fine pasturage. The town of Detroit had about one hundred houses, a range of barracks, and a spacious parade at the south end. A tract of land, call-

* See a pamphlet published in London in 1778, by Thos. Hutchins, captain in the 160th regiment of foot.

ed "the King's Garden," on the west side was handsomely laid out and adorned. The main defence of the town was a fence of pickets settled firmly in the ground, and lined with palisades protected with bastions, which were mounted with small cannon, just sufficient to cope with the Indians, or an enemy not provided with artillery. The garrison consisted of about two hundred men, under the command of a field officer, subject to the cognizance of the English Governor-general of Canada.*

The Hudson's Bay Company, which was chartered about the year 1696 by the English crown, and had exercised a broad and despotic dominion over the wilderness of the north, now stretched its operations toward the lakes, upon the domain which had before been occupied for that object by the French. The great value of the furs which then abounded in that region, was the object which was sought. It was, however, only in the year 1766 that the trade was carried on to any great extent by the English upon the shores of Michigan, although private adventurers had pushed their enterprises to the remotest coast of Lake Superior. The English company, jealous of these individual expeditions, as they had been of those under the French government, now enlarged the circle of their operations; and in 1774 came into frequent and severe collisions with individual traders whom they met in their wanderings. The consequences were injurious to the trade, as the time and energies which might have been employed in securing advantages to themselves, were devoted to petty quarrels, and the forest became a scene of brawls, and a battle-ground of the contending parties. The war was organized into a system. The traders of the Hudson's Bay Company followed the Canadians to their different posts, and used every method to undermine their power.†

During the winter of 1783, the merchants who had been before engaged in the fur trade, formed a partnership, and established the North-west Company. No capital was at that time paid in, but the stock was divided into sixteen shares, and

* See Henry and Carver.

† Consult Mackenzie's Account of the Fur Trade.

each partner engaged to pay his quota in goods requisite to carry on the trade. The company then commenced operations. In 1787, a certain proportion of the shares was held by the agents of the company, whose duty it was made to import from England the goods destined for the fur trade, to store them at Montreal, to cause them to be made into articles suited to the trade, to pack and forward them, and to supply the money required for the outfits. Two of these agents went annually to Detroit, Mackinaw, St. Marie, the Grand Portage, and Montreal; where they received the peltries which had been collected from the interior, packed and shipped them for England. The company for a time made vast profits. In 1798 it had undergone some modification, and the shares were increased to forty-six. The following table exhibits the product of the trade for one year previous to 1774 :—

106,000 Beaver skins,	600 Wolverine skins,
2,100 Bear skins,	1,650 Fisher skins,
1,500 Fox skins,	100 Raccoon skins,
4,000 Kitt Fox skins,	3,800 Wolf skins,
4,600 Otter skins,	700 Elk skins,
16,000 Musksquash skins,	750 Deer skins,
32,000 Martin skins,	1,200 Deer skins, dressed,
1,800 Mink skins,	500 Buffalo robes, and a
6,000 Lynx skins,	quantity of castoreum.

The mode of proceeding in the fur trade, during the year 1794, was modelled somewhat after the French plan. Eighteen months before they could leave Montreal, and in the month of October, the agents ordered the goods to be used in the fur trade from England. In the following spring they were shipped from London, and in the succeeding summer they arrived in Canada. During the winter following they were made up into such articles as were required by the savages, and are then packed in parcels, each weighing ninety pounds. These were sent to Montreal about the 1st of May. In the ensuing winter they were exchanged for furs, which arrived at Montreal during the next fall, and were then shipped to London. In the following spring they were sold, and paid for as late

as June.* The payments were thus made forty-two months after the goods were ordered in Canada, and twenty-four after they had been forwarded from Montreal. The articles imported for the English fur trade were those which were in demand by the Indians. They consisted chiefly of coarse woollen cloth of various kinds, blankets of various sorts and sizes, arms, ammunition, tobacco, Manchester goods, linens, and coarse sheetings; threads, lines, and twine; common hardware; cutlery, brass, and copper-kettles; sheet-iron; silk and cotton handkerchiefs, hats, shoes, hose, calicoes, printed cottons; and also all goods which were demanded in the market of Montreal. The machinery of the fur trade was complex, and to conduct it required a considerable amount of capital, and many employees. They were comprised of clerks, interpreters, guides, canoe-men, who consisted of foremen, middlemen, and steersmen.† The canoes, generally of a large size, containing eight or ten men each and about sixty-five packages of goods, were despatched for the expedition about the month of May. There were also necessarily extensive establishments connected with the trade, such as store-houses, trading houses, and places of accommodation for the agents and partners of the larger companies. The mode of living at the Grand Portage on Lake Superior in 1794 was the following:—The proprietors of the establishment, the guides, clerks, and interpreters, messed together; sometimes to the number of one hundred, in a large hall. Bread, salt-pork, beef, butter, venison, and fish, Indian corn, potatoes, tea, and wine, were their provisions. Several cows were kept around the establishments, which supplied them with milk. The corn was prepared at Detroit by being boiled in a strong alkali, and was called “hominee.” The mechanics had rations of this sort of provision, while the canoe-men had no allowance but melted fat and Indian corn.

The Hudson Bay and the North-west Company, formed in 1737, soon came into active and desperate collision. The struggle was founded on mercantile rivalry, and disputes re-

* Mackenzie.

† Ibid.

garding the lines of demarkation bounded by their charters. Lord Selkirk placed himself at the head of the Hudson's Bay Company, for the purpose of establishing what he conceived to be their rights ; and finally succeeded in amalgamating the stock, and quieting the claims of his rivals. The contest was waged by the North-west Company after they had transferred all their rights and posts south and west of the lines of debarkation to the American Fur Company, organized by the mercantile veteran, John Jacob Astor. This last-named company has continued its trade up to this period, holding important establishments on the north-western lakes.*

The dress of the traders, most of whom had been employed under the French government, consisted of a blanket coat, a shirt of striped cotton, trowsers of cloth, or leather leggings similar to those of the Indians, moccasins wrought from deer-skins, a red or parti-colored belt of worsted, which contained suspended a knife and tobacco-pouch, and a blue woollen cap or hat, in the midst of which was stuck a red feather. Light-hearted, cheerful and courteous, they were ever ready to encamp at night among the savages, or in their own wigwams to join in the dance, or to awaken the solitude of the wilderness with their boat-songs as they swept with vigorous arm across the bosom of the waters.

Even as late as 1810 the island of Mackinaw, the most romantic point on the lakes, which rises from the watery realm like an altar of a river god, was the central mart of the traffic, as old Michilimackinac had been for a century before. At certain seasons of the year it was made a rendezvous for the numerous classes connected with this traffic. At those seasons, the transparent waters around this beautiful island were studded with the canoes of the Indians and traders. Here might then be found the merry Canadian voyageur, with his muscular figure strengthened by the hardships of the wilderness, bartering for trinkets at the various booths scattered along its banks. The Indian warrior, bedecked with the most fantastic ornaments, embroidered moccasins, and silver armlets ;

* See Washington Irving's *Astoria*.

the north-westerns armed with dirks—the iron men who had grappled with the grizzly bear, and endured the hard fare of the north ; and the south-wester also put in his claims to deference.*

Fort William, near the Grand Portage on Lake Superior, was also one of the principal posts of the North-west Company. It was the place of junction when the leading partners from Montreal met the more active agents of the wilderness to discuss the interests of the traffic. The grand conference was attended with a demi-savage and baronial pomp. The partners from Montreal, clad in the richest furs, ascended annually to that point in huge canoes, manned by Canadian voyageurs, and provided with all the means of the most luxurious revelry. The council-house was a large wooden building, adorned with the trophies of the chase, barbaric ornaments, and decorated implements used by the savages in war and peace. At such periods the post would be crowded with traders from the depths of the wilderness and from Montreal ; partners of the company, clerks, interpreters, guides, and a numerous host of dependents. Discussions of grave import regarding the interest of the traffic, made up the arguments of such occasions ; and the banquet was occasionally interspersed with loyal songs from the Scotch Highlander or the aristocratic Briton, proud of his country and his king. Such were the general features of a traffic which constituted for a century, under the French and English governments, the commerce of the north-western lakes. It was a trade abounding in the severest hardships and the most hazardous enterprises. This was the most glorious epoch of mercantile enterprise in the forests of the north-west, when its half-savage dominion stretched upon the lakes for an hundred years over regions large enough for empires ; making barbarism contribute to civilization.†

* Consult Irving's *Astoria*.

† The American Fur Company, now in existence, and extending its operations from the shores of the lakes to those of the Pacific, modelled in its operations somewhat after the old French and English companies, has its trading establishments scattered through the forests. They have connected with them the

The administration of the law under the English domination, although more systematic than that under the French, was yet crude and undigested. The powers of the governors' jurisdiction who were the commandants of the forts, and the rights of the governed, were not clearly defined. There were no regularly organized courts, and no separate jurisdictions marked out. How could such courts be organized, when only a sparse and migratory population were scattered upon the frontier? The commandant of the posts was the executive officer in bringing subjects of litigation before a magistrate of his own appointment, and also the organ through which sentence was to be executed upon the offender. The Quebec act was passed in 1774. By this act the boundaries of Canada were established, and they embraced Canada under its present limits, a vast region of country on Lake Erie, including Michigan, extending to the Mississippi and the Ohio, and north from the St. Lawrence to the latitude of 52°, to the lands of Hudson's Bay. The act ordained that all the subjects of Canada, who professed the religion of the church of Rome, might exercise their religious faith, subject to the English crown; and that the clergy should hold their franchises with respect only to such persons as professed the Catholic religion; while it was made lawful for the crown to make such provision as they might think proper out of these franchises, for the support of the Protestant religion.* By that act, the body of the Canadians, with the exception of the religious orders, were secured in their property, with the right of recourse to the French laws of Canada in all controverted matters; but not extending to lands granted by the crown in common soccage or fee-simple.

fishery. A large amount of Mackinaw trout, white fish, and other products of the lake, is packed in barrels and shipped abroad. The progress of emigration has driven the fur trade from Lake Erie to the banks of Lake Huron and Lake Superior. The most important point of the traffic is, however, on Lake Superior. The American side of the lake is occupied by the American Fur Company as well as individual traders; and the English side by that of Hudson's Bay, which was amalgamated with the North-west Company in 1821. The furs were formerly shipped to England or China. A large amount now find a market in the cities of our own country.

* McGregor's British America,

The criminal laws of England were introduced. It prescribed a council, with the power to make ordinances with the Governor's consent, but not to impose taxes except for making roads. It also reserved to the crown the power of establishing courts of civil, criminal, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This act continued until the year 1791, when another act was passed through the agency of Mr. Pitt, which was denominated the Constitutional Act.

Under the Quebec act, rank injustice sprang up in the posts of Michigan, from a want of legal knowledge and a proper system in the legal administration. One example will exhibit the mode in which this law was administered. Governor Hamilton, a rude officer, the Governor and commandant of Detroit, ordered Philip Dejean, a respectable emigrant from France, and a magistrate of the colony, to try certain criminals for their offences. M. Moran, a prisoner, had before been tried in the same mode, and executed. When the circumstances of the trial, which is contained in the subjoined record—a trial which was conducted against the common rules of law—reached Quebec, it was regarded with the utmost indignation. Lord Dorchester and the Chief Justice of the King's Bench conceived it to be their duty to cause warrants to be issued against Hamilton and Dejean, before whom the prisoners had been condemned. Governor Hamilton, as well as Dejean, had left Detroit for Vincennes before the warrants arrived at Detroit, and they were both taken prisoners. The friends of the parties endeavored to make interest for Hamilton and Dejean, but they never returned to Canada, and never visited England. Hamilton died in the West Indies, where he was appointed to some station; and Dejean afterwards resided at New London in Connecticut, where it is stated that he was appointed consul for France. The record of a criminal trial in 1776 throws light on the general administration of the law at that period.*

“Detroit, ss.

“The jurors for our lord the king, upon their oaths present that Jean Contencinau, a Canadian, formerly a servant to

* This record was found in the possession of Judge May. He knew the judge and jury who tried the cause.

Messrs. Abbot and Finchley, the 24th day of June, and in the fourteenth year of our sovereign lord the king aforesaid, at Detroit aforesaid, eight pounds of beaver skins, two otter skins, and some raccoon skins, to the value of four pounds sterling, of the goods and chattels of the said Abbot and Finchley, subtilly, privily, craftily, and without the knowledge of the said Abbot and Finchley, then and there did steal, take, and convey away, against the peace of our lord the king, his crown and dignity. And that Ann Wyley, formerly slave to said Abbot and Finchley, did steal, or *was accessory to stealing*, a purse containing six guineas, the property of James Abbot aforesaid, which purse and money were found on the person of the said Ann Wyley. The prisoners of the bar being indicted for attempting to set fire to the house of the said Abbot and Finchley, the jurors have not found sufficient proof of the same, though the circumstances are very much against them.

“Given under our hands at Detroit, this 18th day of March, 1776.

“James Sterling,	Gregor McGregor,
Thomas Williams,	Joseph Gamelin,
D. Baby,	Henry Bostwick,
B. Chapoton,	Calapierre,
James Bannerman,	Colton Andrews,
Jacques Campeau,	Beaufort.”

The Judgment.

“The jurors agreeing, and having brought in their verdict, Guilty, the prisoners were set to the bar, and received sentence to be executed on Tuesday the 26th inst., on the king’s domain.”

On the back of the above record, the following appears in the hand-writing of Philip Dejean, the justice before whom the prisoners were tried. It is in the French language, and the following is a literal translation :—

“The jurors for our sovereign lord the king, report that John Contencinau, a Canadian, lately a domestic to Abbot and Finchley, did, on the 24th of June, in the fourteenth year of the reign of the king, subtilly, privily, craftily, and secretly steal,

against the peace and dignity of our sovereign lord the king, eight pounds of beaver, two otter, and several raccoon skins ; the whole appertaining to the said Abbot and Finchley, amounting to four pounds sterling. Ann Wyley, formerly slave to the said Abbot and Finchley, stole, *or was accused* of having stolen, a purse containing six guineas, belonging to the said Abbot and Finchley, which said purse was found upon her.

“ The prisoners of the bar were accused of having set fire to the house of the said Abbot and Finchley also. The jury did not find the proof sufficient, although the circumstances were very strong against them. The jury having made their aforesaid report, it is evident that the said prisoners are guilty of a domestic theft, and for the aforesaid theft have received sentence of death, pronounced in the following terms :— *You shall be hanged—hanged—hanged, and strangled until you be dead, on the king’s public domain (the common), the 26th inst., precisely at twelve o’clock ; and the Lord have mercy upon your souls.*”

“ You see, my dear brother, that it is neither the jury nor myself that has condemned you to death—it is the law that you have violated. It is for a domestic theft that you are now going to lose your life. According to the English laws, a domestic who steals a shilling, or the value thereof, merits death ; and according to the laws of France, a domestic who steals five sous (about four cents) also forfeits his life. Now, I ask you, my dear brother, where was at that moment the fear of God, which you ought to have had before your eyes ? Can you perceive, then, that it would be just to pass this crime with impunity, *unpunished* ? Sooner or later you would be discovered. Blame yourself for the death you are going to suffer, and say with me, ‘ Yes, my God, I acknowledge myself culpable ; and I suffer without murmur the punishment which the law pronounces against my crime. Pardon me, my God ! and deign to give to me the strength and courage that is necessary for my situation. I exhort all those that hear me, and that are here present, particularly those who are obligated to act as servants, to take an example with me, poor unfortunate man, who is going to suffer so terrible a death. Keep always

the fear of God before your eyes, nor ever abandon him ; because he says positively, those who abandon him he will abandon them. You will always bear in mind the laws which are engraved on the tables of your hearts, and do not follow any bad example. If your masters are wicked enough to show them to you, understand that God and the laws will not excuse you, and say with me the Lord's Prayer and Ave Maria."

In conjunction with the fur trade, numerous projects were commenced to discover the precious metals in the region of the north-west, especially upon the shores of Lake Superior. It was originally supposed that this region abounded in valuable mines ; and as early as 1772, Mr. Norburg, a Russian, who accompanied Henry the trader in a part of his expedition, found upon the shore of Lake Huron a mass of silver imbedded in other ore, which produced the pure metal in the proportion of sixty per cent. This mass was contained in a fragment of eight pounds weight. The silver was carried to England, and deposited in the British Museum.*

In 1773 a more important project was commenced for the purpose of working the copper-mines of Lake Superior. For that object a charter was granted in England to a company, the partners of which consisted of the Duke of Gloucester, Mr. Secretary Townsend, Sir Samuel Tutchet, Bart., Mr. Baxter, Consul of the Empress of Russia, Mr. Cruickshank, Sir William Johnson, Bart., Mr. Bostwick, and Alexander Henry, the trader. A sloop was purchased, and the miners commenced operations and blasted thirty feet into the solid rock. It was soon found, however, that the expense of blasting and of exportation would not warrant the enterprise ; and the sloop being sold and the miners discharged, it was soon relinquished. Soon after the conquest of Canada, a company of adventurers from England had commenced excavating the copper, and transporting it ; but that project was also given up on account of " the distracted affairs in America."†

The causes of the American revolution are well known. The people of the Colonies had proclaimed that taxation with-

* Consult Henry's Travels, and also Carver.

† Henry.

out representation was unjust ; that their petitions for the redress of clear and acknowledged grievances had been rejected ; and they threw themselves for redress upon their arms. But the struggle was enacted without the bounds of Michigan. The people of Canada, within which Michigan was then included, were removed from the more immediate causes of war, and they did not, therefore, join the Atlantic states in that struggle. They were, on the contrary, united with England against the cause of revolution. That monarchical spirit, which had grown strong under the old French *regime* and the British crown, continued firmly leagued with aristocratic doctrines ; while the iron men of New-York and New England, and the chivalrous sons of the south, who had fled from the very shadow of the British monarchy, bore the brunt of the rebellion. The French habitants, who had been accustomed to the restraints of a monarchy, had colonized the country for the purposes of trade and aggrandizement ; and the English portion of the population had emigrated to the Canadian territory in the employment of the British crown, or to secure the advantages which were afforded by its trade. It is not extraordinary, therefore, that the Canadians, English as well as French, should have been found opposed to the Atlantic colonies during that struggle. Michigan, although removed from the seat of war, was the rendezvous of hostile bands of Indians, who were sent out against the American wilderness, and the bloody mart where the price of scalps was paid. War parties were constantly going out from Mackinaw and Detroit, and returning with these scalps, for which they were paid at the old council-house in Detroit.

One expedition at that time despatched from Detroit, was led by Captain Byrd. His force was composed of a body of English troops, militia and a large force of Indian warriors. This force left Detroit in boats well manned and supplied, and they ascended the Maumee to Ohio. The design of the expedition was to attack Louisville ; but the high water having prevented, he crossed over to Kentucky, and appeared suddenly before "Ruddle's Station." Exhibiting a force that could not be encountered with success by that garrison, it surrendered on

promise of protection from the Indians. This promise, however, was disregarded, and the garrison was massacred. Byrd afterwards captured a small stockade in that quarter, called Martin's Station, and his advance spread the utmost consternation through the country. Before, however, a sufficient force could be organized against him, he withdrew his forces from that region.*

Another expedition was also sent out from Detroit, under the command of Henry Hamilton, the governor of this post. Gen. George Rogers Clark, a brave and energetic officer, had been despatched by the Governor of Virginia for the defence of the Kentucky frontier, which was then feeble and exposed. Believing that the most direct means of accomplishing that object was to capture the posts in the Illinois, he descended the Ohio, reduced Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and several other small settlements in this region. When Governor Hamilton, who was then at Detroit, received information of his success, he collected all the force which could be obtained, comprised of regular troops, militia, and Indians, and proceeded to Vincennes for the purpose of dislodging him. There he halted, in order to commence operations as soon as the season would permit. It was his purpose to recover the posts which had been taken, to destroy the force of General Clark, and to devastate the infant settlements of that territory.

Clark, who was watching his movements, was advised by a Spanish merchant that Hamilton, who was careless in his operations, had despatched a part of his force to the Ohio River, to watch that stream and harass the settlements along its banks ; and he immediately secured a small armed boat and supplied it with provisions for his troops. Ordering this boat to proceed down the Wabash, a short distance below Nashville, and to permit nothing to pass that river, he set out with one hundred and thirty men, the only force he could procure, he started for that place in mid-winter. During this campaign the force of Clark suffered extraordinary hardship, and was sixteen days in crossing the country, five of which

* Cass's Discourse.

were employed in wading through the overflowed banks of the Wabash. During five of these, his detachment marched with water reaching to their breasts. Suddenly he appeared before Vincennes, with a tree shaped like a cannon; by which stratagem he persuaded Hamilton that he had brought with him artillery. The post was immediately surrendered. Hamilton, who had been active in inciting the barbarity of the savages, was put in irons and sent to Virginia, while the militia who accompanied him were permitted to return to Detroit.*

During the period of the Revolutionary war, the Indians upon the lakes were the subject of much anxiety to the English government, and it was their policy to enlist all the Indian strength which they could excite against the cause of the colonies. At the commencement of the contest, a message was received from the British king, calling upon them to preserve the terms of peace. Among those most favorable to neutrality were the Delaware chief Netawatwees, and White Eyes. As early as 1776 a message was received from the Hurons in the vicinity of Detroit, requesting the Delawares to keep their shoes in readiness to "join the warriors." This message Netawatwees would not receive, but despatched several belts of wampum to the chief of the Hurons at Detroit, admonishing them to remain quiet, and to remember the misery which they had brought upon themselves by engaging in the former wars between the French and the English. This message was delivered to the chief of the Hurons at Detroit, in presence of the English commandant De Peyster. His rage was ungovernable, as he had hoped to engage the assistance of the Indians in behalf of the British king. He cut the belts in pieces, cast them on the ground before the Indian messengers, and commanded them to depart within half an hour from that part of the country.†

There is evidence to show, that in 1778, as well as at a later time, the Delawares and the other Indian nations in this

* See Cass's Discourse.

† See Loskiel's History of the Missions of the United Brethren; London, 1794.

quarter were urged by promises and threats to embark against the American colonies in behalf of the British Government.

All the avenues were secured by which the British commandant could attain his end. Certain Moravian missionaries, who were established on the Muskingum, were believed to exercise their influence over the Indians in favor of the colonists ; as it was alleged that they had received a message from the Congress of Philadelphia, couched in the kindest terms, and stating that an Indian agent would be appointed, and that the Indians of the missionaries should correspond with him on all public concerns. In consequence of the reports made by the enemies of the missionaries that they had influenced the Indians, an officer marched from Detroit, as early as 1779, with the avowed object of taking the most influential of these missionaries ; on the ground that if he was removed the Delawares and the other tribes would join the British.*

On these suspicions the English commandant at Detroit determined, if possible, to remove the pacific influence of the German missionaries. For that object, the English agent of Indian affairs was sent to Niagara to attend a grand council of the Iroquois at that place, and request them to remove the missionaries and their Indian congregation. The plan was arranged ; but the Iroquois not wishing to undertake the active agency of the matter themselves, sent a message to the Chippewas and Ottawas with a belt, stating that they made them "a present of the Indian congregation to make soup of." This request was declined by those tribes, and in consequence the same message was sent to the half-king of the Hurons, and accepted by him, backed by Captain Pipe, the Delaware chief.

In November, 1781, four of these missionaries, among whom was Heckewelder, reached Detroit, and were soon brought before the English commandant De Peyster. Koguthagechton, called by the Americans White Eyes, was the head chief of the Turtle tribe in Ohio ; while Captain Pipe, of the Wolf tribe, was an avowed friend of the British against

the Colonies. A council for their trial was held at the council-house at Detroit; Captain Pipe was present with his Wolf warriors. The tribes were ranged around the hall, which was filled with the concourse. On each side of the commandant a war-chief of each of the two divisions held a stick in his hand of four feet in length, strung with American scalps which they had just taken. Captain Pipe was called upon for his sentiments, and he arose and delivered the following speech :—*

“Father!” he began; and here he paused, turned round to the audience with a most sarcastic look, and then proceeded in a lower tone, as addressing *them*—“I have said *father*, though indeed I do not know why I should call him so, I have never known any father but the French. I have only considered the English as brothers. But as this name is imposed upon us, I shall make use of it, and say—Father”—fixing his eyes again on the commandant—“some time ago you put a war-hatchet into my hands, saying, ‘Take this weapon, and try it on the heads of my enemies the Long-Knives, and let me know afterwards if it was sharp and good.’”

“Father :—At the time you gave me this weapon, I had neither cause or wish to go to war against a foe who had done me no injury. But you say you are my father, and call me your child, and in obedience to you I received the hatchet. I knew that if I did not obey you, you would withhold from me the necessaries of life, which I could procure no where but here. Father, you may perhaps think me a fool for risking my life at your bidding, and that in a cause in which I have no prospect of gaining any thing. For it is your cause and not mine. You have raised a quarrel among yourselves, and you ought to fight it out. It is your concern to fight the Long-Knives. You should not compel your children, the Indians, to expose themselves to danger for your sake. Father, many lives have already been lost on your account. The tribes have suffered and been weakened. Children have lost parents and brothers—wives have lost husbands. It is not

* See Thatcher's “Lives of the Indians.”

known how many more may perish before your war will be at an end.

“Father :—I have said you may perhaps think me a fool for thus thoughtlessly rushing on your enemy. Do not believe this, father ; think not I want sense to convince me, that although you now pretend to keep up a perpetual enmity to the Long-Knives, you may before long conclude a peace with them. Father, you say you love your children, the Indians. This you have often told them ; and indeed it is your interest to say so to them, that you may have them at your service. But father, who of us can believe that you can love a people of a different color from your own better than those who have white skins like yourselves ? Father, pay attention to what I am going to say. While you, father, are setting me on your enemy, much in the same manner as a hunter sets his dog on the game ; while I am in the act of rushing on that enemy of yours with the bloody destructive weapon you gave me, I may, perchance, happen to look back to the place from whence you started me ; and what shall I see ? Perhaps I may see my father shaking hands with the Long-Knives ; yes, with those very people he now calls his enemies. I may then see him laugh at my folly for having obeyed his orders. And yet I am now risking my life at his command. Father, keep what I have said in remembrance. Now, father, here is what has been done with the hatchet you gave me, (handing the stick with the scalps on it), I have done with the hatchet what you ordered me to do, and found it sharp. Nevertheless I did not do all that I might have done. No, I did not. My heart failed me. I felt compassion for your enemy. Innocence had no part in your quarrels ; therefore I distinguished, I spared. I took some live flesh, which, while I was bringing to you, I spied one of your large canoes, on which I put it for you. In a few days you will receive this flesh, and find that the skin is of the same color with your own. Father, I hope you will not destroy what I have saved. You have the means of preserving that which would perish with us for want. The warrior is poor, and his cabin is always empty ; but your house is always full.”

Captain Pipe, however excited he might have been, that the English commandant had evaded his own responsibility, and thrown its whole weight upon the chief, at length avowed himself in favor of the missionaries; and they were acquitted and discharged after having suffered much personal abuse from the savages. They returned home, and reached Sandusky in 1782, on the 22d of November. It was ascertained that the only ground of complaint against them was the fact that the missionaries had *interpreted* certain letters which had been received by the Delaware chiefs from Pittsburgh. Efforts of a similar character, calculated to arouse the friendly savages against the United States, and to prevent neutrality, by impressing them with the conviction that it was the design of the Americans to drive them from their lands, were made by the British agents during the whole course of the revolutionary war.

CHAPTER IX.

Treaty of 1783—North-west territory organized—Arthur St. Clair appointed Governor—Retention of the posts by the English—Confederation of the savages—Message of the Hurons of Detroit—Division of Canada—Simcoe, McKee, Elliot, and Girty—Message from the Spanish settlements on the Mississippi—Campaign of Gen. Harmer—St. Clair's Defeat—Victory of General Wayne—View of settlements in Michigan—Project of Randall and Whitney—Posts of Mackinaw and Detroit relinquished—Condition of Michigan at that time.

DURING the whole progress of the Revolutionary war, Michigan was in a state of comparative quietude. Constituting a part of the Canadian territory, which comprised the French and English loyalists, it was opposed to the doctrines of the American revolution. A magazine of arms for the savages, and a mart where the price of scalps was paid, it exhibited no prominent events which give interest and coloring to the page of history, because it was not made a theatre of exciting action. There was here no well-organized form of government and no settled frame of jurisprudence; and, by consequence, there are few records of growth and production, commerce, population, and military events, like those which are found in the more densely-settled states. The mere outpost of the Canadian territory, it spread out a magnificent wilderness, in which the axe had scarce felled a tree or the plough made a furrow. It was trackless, save where the Indian trail wound through the dense forests and the flowery oak-lands; and unbroken, excepting by the scattered Indian villages, the clearings of Indian corn-fields, sometimes studding the prairies, or the solitary posts of the fur trade, which variegated the landscape at wide intervals. The hunter's path lay along streams which had reflected little since the creation but the vegetation upon their banks, or the wild beasts which drank at their current and disputed the right of domain with the savage.

The wars which had raged in the eastern part of the country were, however, soon brought to a termination, under the pure and glorious administration of Washington, and the treaty of

peace of 1783 was claimed to include Michigan within American bounds. But peace found the country like a veteran soldier—unconquered, houseless, and covered with wounds. The nation was burdened with debt from the expenses of a long war, and it became an important object to provide for its liquidation. The people of the country had long regarded the western lands as a fund to aid in the payment of this national debt. The lands, which were comprised in the territory north-west of the river Ohio, in which limit Michigan was embraced, were claimed by several of the eastern states, on the ground of original charters to the colonies from the crown of England. These were, in consequence, denominated crown lands. It was maintained, that since the war, prosecuted for the general defence and benefit of the country, the states claiming the lands in this quarter, and who could not realise any special advantage from these possessions, ought to relinquish them as a common fund for the benefit of the United States rather than to see the whole nation sink under a burthen of debt. A concession of these lands was, in fact, made an important object in establishing the confederation. The American people in this quarter also desired some efficient system, which should regulate their territory in order to afford them organized defence in war and a settled frame of government. Under the existing state of things, they were on the edge of American jurisdiction, surrounded by enemies, and without any adequate means of protection.

In order to induce the States to make liberal cessions of lands to the general government, Congress, on the 10th of October, 1780, declared that the territory ceded should be disposed of for the common benefit of the Union, and be formed into Republican states, possessing the same rights and privileges with the other States ; and to be of proper extent of territory, not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square ; and that the expense incurred by any State since the commencement of the war, in subduing any British post, or in maintaining and acquiring the title, should be reimbursed. In accordance with this recommendation, New-York led the way in this compromise, and ceded to the

United States, in March, 1781, all her claims to the lands north-west of the River Ohio. In January, 1784, Virginia followed the example of New-York, but was disposed to affix a condition, which was not deemed liberal by some of the States, and which was refused by the majority in Congress. This condition was, that Congress should guarantee all the other lands which she claimed between the Atlantic Ocean and the south-east side of the River Ohio, and the boundaries of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. This condition, which was refused by Congress, was afterwards withdrawn by Virginia, and the cession was accepted. Massachusetts made its deed of cession in April, 1785, and surrendered all her right to lands west of the line fixed by New-York. In September, 1786, Connecticut ceded all the lands included within her chartered limits, lying one hundred and twenty miles west of the western boundary of Pennsylvania; and in August, 1787, South Carolina granted to the United States her right to land lying west of the chain of mountains which divides the eastern and western waters. In this mode Congress became possessed of the lands lying north-west of the River Ohio, and in July, 1787, a government was established for this tract, which was termed the *North-western Territory*.* This government was comprised in the ordinance of 1787, and it was framed by Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Massachusetts. The ordinance of 1787 is the basis of all the territorial governments of the United States in this quarter. The territory was made into one district, subject to be divided into two at the will of Congress. It was provided, that until the number of free male citizens should amount to five thousand, it should be vested in a governor and three judges, who, as well as a secretary, should be appointed by Congress. The governor and judges were empowered to adopt and publish such laws of the *original* states, criminal and civil, as might be suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress. These laws were to be in force until disapproved by that body.

The governor was also invested with the power to divide

* See Report of Mr. Thomas, from the committee on Judiciary, March 2, 1836.

the districts into townships or counties, and to appoint civil officers; and when the free male inhabitants of full age should amount to five thousand, a general assembly—comprised of a governor, a legislative council, and house of representatives—was to be constituted. The representatives were to be selected from the counties or townships, one for every five hundred free male inhabitants, until the number amounted to twenty-five, after which the number was to be regulated by the legislature. They were to hold their offices for two years. Each representative was required to have been a citizen of the United States for three years, and a resident in the district, or to have resided in the district three years, and to possess in the district, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land; and an elector was required to have resided three years in the district, and to be a citizen of one of the States, or possess a like freehold and two years' residence.

The legislative council was to consist of five persons, who were, unless removed by Congress, to hold their offices for five years. The following was the mode in which they were to be appointed:—The house of representatives were authorized to nominate ten persons, each possessed of a freehold of five hundred acres of land; and out of this number Congress were permitted to appoint five, as members of the legislative council. The general assembly were allowed to make laws for the district, in conformity to the ordinance, which were to have the assent of the majority of both houses and that of the governor. The legislative assembly were also permitted by joint ballot to elect a delegate to Congress, who had the right of speaking but not of voting.

Certain articles of compact were also established between the original States and the people of the north-western territory, which might form the basis of their future connexion, which should remain unalterable, unless by common consent. By this compact freedom of religion was guaranteed, as well as the benefits of the writ of Habeas Corpus and trial by jury; and those other fundamental principles which constitute the basis of the American constitutions. Education was to be encouraged. The utmost good faith was to be preserved to-

ward the Indians, their lands were forbidden to be taken without their consent, and slavery was to be prohibited for ever. The territory and States erected therein were to remain forever a part of the American confederacy, and not less than three, or more than five States were to be erected within its bounds. At the same time the bounds of these States were so fixed, as that Congress had a right to alter them by forming one or two new States in that part of the territory lying north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. Whenever either of those States should contain a population of sixty thousand free inhabitants, such State was allowed to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and to form a permanent republican constitution and State government ; and before they had attained that population, they were allowed an admission into the Union if it should be found consistent with the interest of the confederation. Under this frame of government, Michigan commenced its first existence within American jurisdiction. The first step taken toward settling the north-western territory, was the presentation of a memorial from the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army entitled to land bounties under the resolves of 1776 and 1780. This memorial was forwarded to Gen. Washington by Gen. Rufus Putnam, in February of 1783.* The first set of laws was published by being nailed upon a tree upon the banks of the Muskingum, and in 1788 Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed to administer them, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, the governor, having not at that time arrived.†

* See an elaborate article in the 100th number of the North American Review entitled " Fifty Years of Ohio."

† The following is an extract of an oration delivered on the 4th of July, 1788, on the banks of the Muskingum, now Marietta, by James H. Varnum, who, with S. H. Parsons and John Armstrong, had been appointed to the bench. It relates to the non-arrival of the Governor of the north-western territory, and is a prominent specimen of grandiloquence :—

" May he soon arrive ! Thou, gently flowing Ohio, whose surface, as conscious of thy unequalled majesty, reflecteth no images but the grandeur of the impending heavens, bear him, oh bear him safely to this anxious spot ; and thou, beautifully transparent Muskingum ! swell at the moment of his approach,

The treaty of peace of 1783 did not terminate the difficulties between Great Britain and the United States. Several minor questions sprang up, which were the cause of dissatisfaction to both parties. Debts due by Americans to British subjects, whose payment was guaranteed in the treaty, were neglected; and on the other hand, the negroes belonging to American subjects, who were in the possession of British officers, were not restored; and when the Baron Steuben was sent by Gen. Washington to Sir Frederick Haldimand at Quebec, to arrange matters for the occupation of these posts, with instructions to proceed to Michigan, he was informed that the posts would not be surrendered at that time, and was refused his passports to Niagara and Detroit. The Indian tribes scattered along the north-western territory, goaded by the advance of the white population upon that domain, and inflamed by the people in that quarter, began to show undoubted signs of dissatisfaction. As early as 1785 and 1786, they had carried their acts of individual hostility to the feeble settlements of Kentucky and the banks of the Ohio. Two years had therefore scarcely elapsed after the close of the war, before a combination of the savages along the north-west was formed, and Thayendanegea, called Joseph Brant, the leading warrior of the Six Nations, was requested by the Algonquin tribes to ascertain what assistance could, in case of war, be derived from Great Britain.*

In December, 1786, a grand confederate council of the Indians north-west of the Ohio was held near the Huron village at the mouth of the Detroit River, which was attended by the Six Nations, the Hurons, Ottawas, Miamies, Shawanese, Chippewas, Cherokees, Delawares, Potawatamies, and the confederates of the Wabash. The ground of difference between the Indians and the United States was a question of boundary; the Indians maintaining that the Ohio River was not to be crossed by the Americans. The council was pacific, providing that the United States did not encroach on their lands. The Indians

and reflect no objects but of pleasure and delight." See *North American Review* Number 100 article on Ohio.

* See Stone's "Life of Brant," a valuable depository of facts.

were not included in the treaty, and it became a nice legal question how far the United States had a right to advance upon the territory then occupied by the Indians. The savages attributed the mischief and confusion to the fact that the United States would "kindle the council-fires wherever they thought proper without consulting the Indians." The posts in Michigan thus withheld from the possession of the United States, were Detroit and Mackinaw ; and Great Britain, in order to strengthen the post against the incursions of the Americans, took immediate measures to garrison the fort of Detroit, under instructions from Lord Dorchester.

It was finally proposed to call a grand council of the Indians in which the whole ground of complaint between the savages and the United States should be discussed, and some final determination made.

The following is the invitation of the Hurons of Detroit to the Five Nations, requesting them to attend this council.

Message of the Hurons of Detroit to the Five Nations.

" January 21st, 1788.

" BRETHREN :—Nothing yet has reached us in answer to the messages sent to the Americans on the breaking up of our general council, nor is it now probable that we shall hear from them before our next meeting takes place, a circumstance that ought to expedite us in our business. The nations this way have adhered hitherto to the engagements entered into before we parted, at least as far as has come to our knowledge, and we intend immediately to call them to this council-fire, which shall be uncovered at the time appointed ; that without further delay some decisive measures may be finally fixed upon for our future interest, which must govern hereafter the conduct of all the nations in our alliance ; and this we intend to be our last council for the purpose ; therefore it is needless to urge farther the indispensable necessity of all nations being present at the conclusion of affairs tending so much to their own future welfare and happiness. And we do in a particular manner desire you, the Five Nations, to be strong and punctual in your promise of being with us early and in time ;

and that not only the warriors, but the chiefs of your several nations, attend on this occasion. We shall therefore endeavor to have as many of the western and southern Indians as possible collected.

Strings of wampum."

No records of this council have been discovered, although the account of the proceedings, it is believed, were forwarded to Lord Dorchester. It is probable that there was a division in their deliberations, because two separate treaties were held at Fort Harmar, which were attended by only a part of the Indians. These treaties were held by Gen. St. Clair in January, 1789 ; in the first place with the Five Nations, with the exception of the Mohawks ; and the second was made with the warriors and sachems of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatamie, and Sac tribes.

It appears, that from 1783, the date of the peace with England, to the reception of the address of the grand council of Indians, which was held at the Huron village, Congress acted on the ground that this treaty invested the United States with the fee of all the Indian lands within its bounds. The Indians, on the contrary, claimed that they alone had the exclusive right to the soil ; and hence arose the ground of their troubles with the Americans, who, they claimed, were trespassers upon their land. In 1790 the government of the United States were at issue on the right of navigation to the Mississippi, and the English attempted to take advantage of that difficulty for the purpose of fomenting difficulties with the United States.

Mutual complaints were, in fact, made after the peace of 1783, both by the United States and Great Britain, that the stipulations of the treaty had been violated by both parties.

On the side of Great Britain, it was alleged that loyalists to the crown had been refused the power of regaining possession of their estates, and of recovering their debts before the hostilities had been commenced. It was maintained, on the other hand, that the military posts had not only been denied to the Americans, which of right belonged to them ; but that the Indians were incited to massacre the defenceless inhabitants

on the frontier, and also that commercial restrictions had been imposed on American commerce.

By these restrictions American ships trading with France might be seized by English cruisers and condemned.

The motives which actuated the policy of Great Britain regarding the western posts are manifest. They well knew the Indian influence was strongly in favor of the English, and that they might use the savage strength in crippling the growth of a sturdy rival, which was advancing with powerful strides into fertile forests, and constructing broader and deeper the foundations of the republican edifice. Accordingly, from 1783, when the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was made, down to the year 1796, the whole north-western frontier, which was included within American bounds, was withheld from the possession of the country. The relations between the two governments were in an unsettled state. Charges were made on the part of the British, and pressed at the court of St. James, that the Americans had not complied with their own agreements. It is quite possible, although differences of opinion now exist on the subject, that Great Britain had regretted the cession of the wide and fertile region along the American shore of the lakes, and was disposed to pursue a policy that would secure it at first to the Indians, and subsequently to themselves.

But the war was about drawing to a close. Although in 1791 Canada was divided into an Upper and Lower Province, which introduced upon the stage a number of prominent actors, still no material injury was effected to the American cause by the change. The upper province was placed under the administration of Colonel T. G. Simcoe, who was appointed lieutenant-governor to the newly-organised territory. Col. Simcoe established his head-quarters at Niagara. Although at first professing a pacific spirit, it is manifest, that with the growing difficulties between the two countries, he afterwards exercised his influence most strongly against the United States, aided by Colonel McKee,* Capt. Elliot, and the notorious Si-

mon Girty. The three last were British agents. Lord Dorchester, it is affirmed, exercised his own influence for the same end, by the delivery of a speech, whose genuineness, however, has been denied, to the deputies of the seven nations of Canada, as well as all the other Indians at the grand council of the preceding autumn. After the delivery of this speech Governor Simcoe repaired over land to Detroit, and, proceeding with a strong detachment to the foot of the Miami Rapids, he erected a fortress at that place. During the whole progress of the war Detroit was made the scene of its most interesting councils; and the half-breeds of that place constantly exercised their address and duplicity by operating upon the minds of the credulous savages around the post. It was represented to them, and also to the remote tribes, that Governor Simcoe was to march to their aid with fifteen hundred men; that he was giving them clothing and all necessary supplies; that all the speeches sent to them were red as blood. The wampum and feathers were painted red; the war pipes and hatchets were painted red; and even the tobacco was painted red. The minds of the savages were swayed by such influences. This was not, however, the case with the Shawanese prisoners who were captured. They said "they could not depend upon the British for effectual support; that they were always setting the Indians on like dogs after game, perchance to go to war and kill the Americans, but they did not help them."

The design of the British to confederate the tribes of the north-western Indians was fully demonstrated, although the object was not avowed. To effect this plan, public councils and individual stratagems were used. At one time Alexander McKenzie, an agent of the British Government, was employed to paint himself as an Indian; and furnishing himself with pipes and wampum as the credentials of his authority, a grand council was convened at Detroit. The concourse of Indians there assembled was addressed by Elliot and other British agents. It was alleged that McKenzie was an ambassador, who had returned from the remote tribes of the Upper Lakes, and that their bands were armed with the tomahawk and scalping-knife, and were ready to fall upon the

Americans ; and that the hordes of savages upon the banks of the Mississippi were preparing to descend that stream, and to attack the settlements of Virginia and Ohio. The fraud thus practised was made successful by the fact, that McKenzie preserved his character to the life, as he spoke the Indian language with perfect precision, and was supported by a portion of the Wyandots and Shawnees, who were acquainted with the secret. By such means the Ottawas, the Miamis, the Potawatawies, the Delawares, the Shawanese, the Chippewas, and the seven nations of Canada were brought into the field against the United States. Many of the French traders from the settlements in Michigan, particularly at Detroit, were induced to take up arms against the United States for the alleged reason, that if they did not embark in the Indian cause, they would not be permitted to trade with the Indians in their own territory.

Early in May, 1794, a new messenger appeared from the Spanish settlements on the banks of the Mississippi, and he was conducted to the Miamis by a deputation from the Delawares. He then offered assistance from the Spanish and French settlements in the south-west, who, he said, were preparing to come to their aid.

"Children," said the Spaniard, "you see me on my feet grasping the tomahawk to strike them. We will strike together. I do not desire you to go before me in the front, but to follow me.

"Children : I present you with a war pipe, which has been sent in all our names to the Musquakies, and all those nations who live towards the setting sun, to get upon their feet, and take hold of our tomahawk ; and as soon as they smoked it, they sent it back with a promise to get immediately on their feet and join us, and strike this enemy.

"Children : you hear what these distant nations have said to us, so that we have nothing further to do but put our designs into immediate execution, and to forward this pipe to the three warlike nations who have so long been struggling for their country, and who now sit at the Glaize. Tell them to smoke this pipe, and forward it to all the Lake Indians and their northern brethren. Then nothing will be wanting to complete

our general union from the rising to the setting of the sun, and all nations will be ready to add strength to the blow we are going to make."

The English had not, to any great extent, encouraged the settlement of the country; and the Indians, who at that time occupied its whole length and breadth, were disposed, as a condition of peace, to demand of the Americans a formal surrender of the north-western territory into their own hands. The country had, in fact, been ceded to the United States; but new negotiations were in progress, and it was the policy of Great Britain to encourage the hostility of the savages, in order that they might derive whatever of benefit could be obtained by the surrender of the country to Indian dominion.

The Indian influence, as has been before remarked, had gradually strengthened into a confederation of tribes in the western forests; and a pacific negotiation was attempted with these tribes, but without success. Gen. Harmar was therefore despatched with a force amounting to about fourteen hundred men, in order to subdue them, or at least bring them to subjection. Owing to a subdivision of his army, he was unfortunately defeated with great massacre by the Indians, near Chillicothe, Ohio; not, however, before he had succeeded in destroying the villages, and laying waste the fields of many of the savages. Gen. Harmar having failed in the enterprise, was succeeded in command by Major Gen. St. Clair, the then governor of the north-western territory. Gen. St. Clair, with an army of about two thousand men, hastened to protect the defenceless inhabitants of the frontier from Indian butchery, and in the month of October, 1792, he marched into the wilderness. With a force which had been reduced by desertion and detachment to about fourteen hundred, he encamped within a few miles of the Miami villages, intending to remain there until he was reinforced. Notwithstanding the similar disaster which had befallen his predecessor, Gen. St. Clair was surprised by that savage and desperate warrior, the Little Turtle; and his troops, which were arrayed in front, were driven back upon the regulars in the utmost confusion. St. Clair endeavored to rally his retreating forces, but without

success. They poured in like the locusts of Egypt from the surrounding country, and with their destructive rifles heaped the battle-ground with the dying and the dead. After an action of about three hours, the force of the Americans was so crippled by the savages, that the General deemed it prudent, in order to save them from entire destruction, to order his army to retreat. They were pursued by the conquering savages for about four miles, when they returned to the battle-ground in order to enjoy the spoils of the slaughter. The numbers engaged on both sides were about equal ; but the loss on the side of the Americans was estimated at about six hundred and thirty killed and missing, and two hundred and sixty wounded. The loss of the savages is not accurately ascertained, but the American camp and artillery fell into the hands of the Indians. Gen. St. Clair, who was disabled by indisposition from performing the active duties of commander, ordered a retreat to Fort Jefferson, and thence to Fort Washington.

Congress, on hearing of this disastrous conflict, determined to prosecute the war with extraordinary vigor, to increase the army by enlistments, and to place the frontier in a strong posture of defence. In accordance with this determination, Washington, acting under a resolution of Congress, endeavored to raise a powerful force ; but the defeats of Harmar and St. Clair had created such a panic, that a sufficient strength could not be collected to warrant an expedition against the Indians. There was, moreover, a formidable opposition to the war, and it was deemed advisable to undertake another effort for a pacific negotiation with the unfriendly savages, but without success.

Gen. St. Clair, upon his defeat in 1761, resigned his command, and was succeeded by Gen. Anthony Wayne. Gen. Wayne was a chivalrous officer, full of energy and spirit. He was the object of much fear to the Indians, who deemed him possessed of uncommon prowess, and from his supposed cunning he was entitled by the Indians the "*Black Snake*." Near the close of the year 1793 Gen. Wayne built a stockade on the ground which had three years before been made me-

morable by the defeat of Gen. St. Clair, and called it Fort Recovery. While employed in the erection of this work, he offered a small reward for every human skull which might be picked up on the battle-ground ; and it is alleged that more than five hundred of these mournful relics were collected on the field of carnage, and entombed in one of the block-houses. Having left a proper garrison at Fort Recovery, Gen. Wayne returned to Fort Jefferson, determined to winter there with the main body of his army. He had before been admonished of the character of his enemy, as his rear-guard was harassed by a band of savages on his way to Fort Jefferson.

A detachment which had left Fort Recovery, where it had been detached in June, 1794, to escort provisions to that place, and before the army of Gen Wayne had left its winter-quarters, were attacked when within about a mile from the fort by the Indians who had laid in ambush, and was driven back into their very gates, where the savages attempted at the same time to enter, but were prevented. On the 4th of July of the same year he followed the Indian track into the depths of the wilderness.

At the crossing of the St. Mary's River, Fort Adams was constructed ; and while the American army halted at that point, a man deserted to the enemy, and carried to them information of the progress of the American forces. When, therefore, Gen. Wayne arrived at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Maumee rivers, he found the Indian villages deserted. He remained at that place a few days, in order to wait for the return of certain spies, whom he had despatched under Captain Welles for the purpose of ascertaining the movements of the savages, and while there, he constructed Fort Defiance.

The army soon moved with extraordinary caution down the left bank of the Maumee. Gen. Wayne made one more effort to bring the Indians to pacific measures by despatching messengers with terms of peace ; all without success. On the 19th of August he reached the Rapids of the Maumee, about four miles above the British post, and erecting a small work for the protection of his baggage and stores, called Fort Deposit, he advanced upon the enemy. The British post had

been fortified by a force sent from Detroit the preceding spring, and the Indians were entrenched under the very shadow of the English fort. It is clear, from various facts, that the Indians received the secret co-operation of the British, although the particular part which they acted in the Indian war was not apparent. It is equally evident, that had the confederated tribes of the savages again succeeded against the Americans, that circumstance would have induced them openly to espouse their cause. This fact induced Gen. Wayne to take his steps with the utmost caution in order to prevent the recurrence of those disastrous defeats which had followed in the track of his predecessors. The British Government had before demanded, as a condition of peace, the independence of the savages who occupied the north-western frontier, in granting their domain to whomsoever they might think proper. The American General, in consequence of the refusal of this demand, had reason to believe that the Indians would receive the immediate protection of the British fort, and this suspicion was based on the solid ground that the Indians had planted themselves within a short distance of the British works. He was, however, prepared to act defensively against a civilized or savage foe, as he had received secret instructions, in case of aid from the British to the Indians, to treat them according to the usages of war. The army under Gen. Wayne amounted to about three thousand men ; and the Indian force, embracing a league which extended over the whole north-western frontier, is estimated at about the same number. As he advanced toward the entrenchment of the savages, Gen. Wayne sent forward a battalion of mounted riflemen, with the instruction that in case of an attack they should retreat in feigned confusion, in order to lure the savages into a more disadvantageous position. This stratagem was successful, and the advancing party having met the enemy, was fired upon, and fell back, being pursued by the Indians, to the main body of the army. The morning of the attack was rainy, and the drums, which were to give the concerted signals, could not be distinctly heard ; and accordingly a secret plan to turn the right flank of the enemy was not executed. The success of Gen. Wayne,

however, was signal. The Indians, after an obstinate resistance, were defeated, and retired in great disorder, having suffered a loss of about one hundred killed. Gen. Wayne having built Fort Recovery where the Americans had been defeated in 1791, and erected Fort Defiance at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Miami, had endeavored to bring the Indians to terms, but without success ; as Col. McKee, the Indian agent, concealed the true import of the letter which was forwarded for that object. The American force consisted of about two thousand regulars and eleven hundred mounted militia under Gen. Scott of Kentucky, and they soon advanced to the Rapids of the Maumee. The force of the Indians was commanded by Mesheconnaqua, or the Little Turtle, and Blue Jacket, a Shawanese warrior. The Indians were themselves posted in dense forests almost under the shadow of the British fort, with their left secured by the rocky bank of the river and a breast-work of fallen trees, and extended in three lines within supporting distance of each other. Wayne's legion had its flank upon the river, a brigade of mounted volunteers under General Todd the left, and Gen. Babee the rear. Major Price, with a select battalion, was ordered to advance to reconnoitre the enemy, and he had scarce advanced five miles before they were attacked ; Wayne's legion advanced in two columns with trailed arms, and with orders to press upon the enemy with the bayonet, to arouse them and give a close fire upon their backs, so as to permit them no opportunity to escape. By this manœuvre the Indians were successfully routed, and fled to the very walls of Fort Maumee.

No intercourse appears to have existed between the British garrison and the savages while Gen. Wayne remained in the neighborhood of the fort. During the whole period of the action the gates were shut, and the English gazed with apparent unconcern upon the surrounding slaughter. After the Indians had retreated, Gen. Wayne devastated the fields and burned the buildings, some of which were under the very battlements of the fort. In the general conflagration, the house of Col. McKee, who was believed to have exercised a great influence in stimulating the barbarity of the savages, was destroyed. In

consequence of these acts of devastation, a belligerent correspondence took place between Major Campbell, the British commandant, and Gen. Wayne ; but owing to the forbearance of the General, who answered by mere remonstrance, no attack was made upon the American forces by the garrison. The hostility of the British, however, was carried so far, that General Wayne, in his official report of his victory at the Maumee, alleges that a detachment of militia from Detroit was associated and fought with the Indians. It is also well known that a Mr. Smith, the clerk of the Court at Detroit, was at the head of a company which fought against the Americans, and was killed in the same action.* The Indians, doubtless, regarded the conduct of the English in this matter with dissatisfaction, as they had looked upon the fort, in case of extremity, as the last refuge ; and this fact is deducible from the speech which was made by Tecumseh to Gen. Proctor in 1813, after the victory of Commodore Perry upon Lake Erie.

Gen. Wayne, on the morning before his army made its movement back towards Fort Defiance, having paraded his force so that the enemy might view its strength, advanced with his staff toward the glacis of the British post, and reconnoitred it with the utmost deliberation. As they approached it they beheld the soldiers of the garrison prepared with matches lighted, and standing armed for any emergency at their guns. The party of Gen. Wayne, while standing near the fort, overheard one of the subordinate officers of the British appealing to the commandant, Major Campbell, for permission to revenge this insulting parade before the British guns by firing upon the American force. The American General was, however, permitted to retire without any attack, and to advance by easy marches toward Fort Defiance. On his way he destroyed the Indian corn-fields which were spread over the fertile bottom lands of the Maumee, presuming that famine would be a powerful argument in the savage mind in procuring a pacific termination of the war. Gen. Wayne moved up the Miami River to the old Maumee towns, where he built Fort Wayne, having left Major Hunt in command at Fort De-

* Whiting's Discourse.

fiance. Thence he proceeded to Greenville with the body of his army, Col. Hamtramck remaining at the post which he had last constructed. This campaign had continued about three months, and the Indians were most signally overthrown. The defeat of the Indians also demolished the insidious projects of the British Government, and military posts of great importance were established on the ground which had before been occupied by the Indians.

The social progress of Michigan for a long period is not marked by those exciting facts which give coloring and interest to the historic page. The solitary and silent advance of emigration along the rivers of a remote and howling wilderness exhibits but a dead level of unexciting circumstances. It is well known, that soon after the extinguishment by Great Britain to the French possessions in North America by the treaty of Paris in 1763, the then monarch of England issued a proclamation forbidding further extinguishment of title to Indian lands. Notwithstanding this positive order, the subjects of that king continued to make purchases and settlements within the prescribed bounds. The substance of the settlements which were made within the territory of Michigan for a period of forty years may now be ascertained. In 1765 Patrick Sinclair, a British officer, and commandant of Fort Sinclair, purchased of the Indians about four thousand acres of land lying on that river, called, in honor of the commandant, the River Sinclair. Lake St. Clair derived its name from a different officer, who was in the French service. Sinclair remained in possession about seventeen years, acquiring great advantage from the use of the land as a pinery, and then sold it to a Canadian, whence it was handed down to its present proprietors, who are in possession of valuable improvements. In 1771 seven Canadians made a purchase of about two thousand acres "on the strait called Detroit, below the town of Detroit;" and Henry Basset, an officer in the British service, and at that time commandant of the post at Detroit, undertook to confirm the purchase. In 1776 Pierre Francois Combe purchased about four thousand acres on La Riviere a

l'Ecorce, and soon after established upon it a settlement.*— During the same year William Macomb purchased of the Indians the island at the mouth of the River Detroit, called Grosse Isle. That purchase embraced also an adjacent island, called Limestone Island, from the fact of its possessing a valuable limestone quarry. In 1806 there were ten tenants on the first-named island, and it contained more than six thousand acres of land. In 1779 a Canadian purchased from the Pottawatamie, Chebois, and Ottawa tribes about eight thousand acres on Otter Creek; and in 1780 another Canadian purchased about six thousand acres on Sandy Creek. He conveyed this tract, about twelve years after, to actual settlers, and the second year following this sale settlements were made on the preceding purchase. During the same year three settlements were added to the seven which had been made in 1771 upon the strait. During that same year thirty-eight settlements were made on the River Rouge, and four at Pointe au Tremble. In 1782 there were nineteen settlers added to the tract of Patrick Sinclair, and in 1783 twenty settlements were made on Lake St. Clair. In 1784 a small body of Canadians settled on the River Raisin, and laid the foundation of French Town. In 1785 four settlers were added to those at Pointe au Tremble. In 1786 Francois Pepin purchased about three thousand acres on Rock River, and that tract has since been vastly improved. During the same year William Macomb acquired L'Isle a Cochon, or Hog Island, which lies in the strait, by a purchase from George McDougall. This island had, up to the year 1764, been appended by the French to the Detroit garrison. In 1788 twenty settlements were made on the Huron River, and Gabriel Godfrey purchased the same quantity with Francois Pepin on the Rock River. In 1790 a few emigrants were added to the settlements at Pointe au Tremble, and in 1792 two settlements were added to those on La Riviere a l'Ecorce, and a body of Canadians settled during the same year upon Sandy Creek. In the year 1793 a considerable addition was made to the settlements on the River Huron,

* See Note 6, at the end of this volume.

and in the following year the settlement on the River Ecorce was considerably increased, and a large body of emigrants settled on Otter Creek. In the year 1797 a large number of Canadian families established themselves on what is called Milk River, and in the region of country north of that stream ; and during the same and the following year, the settlements along the River Rouge and La Riviere a l'Ecorce were considerably augmented. In the year 1800 four settlers were added to the establishments on the river Huron, and during the same and the subsequent year six families were added to the settlements on the River Sinclair. In 1801 claims were also urged to the property of a salt spring in that region. This is the substance of the settlements which were made in the territory of Michigan previous to the organization of the Territorial Government. The subjoined table, exhibiting them in chronological order, was drawn up by Augustus B. Woodward, Chief Justice of the territory of Michigan, and sets forth the settlements in the territory in a more condensed and accurate form. It was contained in a report from the Governor and presiding Judge of the territory of Michigan, made in 1806, relative to the state of that Territory.

A chronological Table, exhibiting the settlements in the Territory of Michigan.

Date of the Settlements.	Geographical position of the Settlements.	Whether within the American title.	No. of farms, or distinct Settlements.
1763.	Detroit or the Strait,	Within	77.
1765.	La Riviere de Sinclair,	Without	1.
1771.	Detroit or the Strait,	Within	7.
1776.	La Riviere à l'Ecorce,	Within	10.
—	La Grosse Isle,	Within	10.
1779.	La Crique aux Loutres	Without	1.
1780.	La Crique a Sable,	Within	1.
—	Detroit or the Strait	Within	3.
—	La Riviere Rouge,	Within	38.
—	Pointe au Tremblé,	Doubtful	4.

1782.	La Riviere de Sinclair,	Without	19.
1783.	Lake St. Clair,	Doubtful	20.
1784.	La Riviere aux Raisins,	Both	121.
1785.	Pointe au Tremblé,	Doubtful	4.
1786.	La Riviere aux Roche,	Within	2.
—	L'Isle a Cochon,	Within	1.
1788.	La Riviere aux Hurons,	Without	20.
—	La Riviere aux Roches,	Within	1.
1790.	Pointe au Tremblé,	Doubtful	4.
1792.	La Riviere a l'Ecorce,	Within	2.
—	La Crique a Sable,	Within	15.
1793.	La Riviere aux Hurons,	Without	10.
1794.	La Riviere a l'Ecorce,	Within	3.
—	La Crique aux Loutres,	Without	22.
1797.	La Riviere au Lait,	Doubtful	30.
—	La Riviere a l'Ecorce,	Within	2.
1798.	La Riviere Rouge,	Within	5.
1800.	La Riviere aux Hurons,	Without	4.
1801.	La Riviere de Sinclair,	Without	6.
—	The Salt Springs,	Doubtful	1.

 442.

In this table the titles and claims in the town or city of Detroit are omitted. The population comprising these settlements were, for the most part, Canadian French, and they spread themselves along the banks of the more eligible streams, where the mouldering ruins of some of their ancient cottages now remain. The French, relying on other sources of profit, still gave little attention to the productive and solid pursuits of agriculture, and the exhausted farms of the early emigrants scattered along the banks of the rivers which have been mentioned exhibit a want of careful and scientific husbandry. The titles to the several tracts enumerated, as well as others, rested on an unsound basis. The grants which constituted their claims, had issued from the French and British Governments, as well as from unauthorized grantors, subjects of these nations, and from the Indians; and it became a nice

legal question how far these grants ought to be confirmed to the occupants by the Government of the United States.

Before the execution of Jay's treaty, a project was devised between two or three adventurers of the states, and a number of merchants and traders of Detroit, which, had it succeeded, would have produced great injury to Michigan. In 1795 Robert Randall of Pennsylvania, and Charles Whitney of Vermont, were taken into custody by the House for an unwarrantable attempt to corrupt the integrity of its members. Randall had visited Detroit in pursuit of some object in which he had failed, and he soon adopted a comprehensive plan to improve his fortune. In connexion with Charles Whitney and another individual, he entered into an agreement with seven merchants residing at or near Detroit, through which the parties bound themselves to obtain a pre-emption right from the United States of a certain territory therein defined, which was to be purchased from the Indians. The tract contained, it is supposed, nearly twenty millions of acres, and was embraced by Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. It was given in evidence before Congress that Randall and Whitney had unfolded to several members their scheme, and by this it appeared that the territory was to be divided into forty-one shares, five of which were to belong to the traders of Detroit, who were parties to the agreement, six were to be appropriated to Randall and his coadjutors, and the rest were to be divided among the members of Congress who might give their influence to the measure. The amount proposed to be paid for the right to make this purchase was from a half to a million of dollars. These merchants, it was maintained, exercised so great influence over the Indians as to make an advantageous purchase practicable. It was maintained, in opposition to this measure, that there was a bar in the fact that the treaty gave an exclusive pre-emption right to the United States. But it was urged on the other side, that the Indians were dissatisfied with this treaty, and would not be bound by it; and that this plan would, by appeasing the savages, restore tranquillity to the country. Having been brought before the House, Whitney was dis-

discharged, while Randall received a public reprimand, and was obliged to pay the fees which had accrued in the trial of his cause.*

During the year 1794, Detroit and French Town were the principal settlements on the eastern side of the peninsula of Michigan. Detroit was included in pickets, and was a general depot of the fur trade. The population was comprised of Scotch, French, and English merchants, all connected with the trade, beside the military force which was there stationed. The goods used in this traffic were transported in canoes from Quebec; and bills of credit, for small sums, were permitted to be issued by the merchants, payable annually at Quebec or Montreal, on the condition of their giving security in double the amount of their value.

French Town consisted only of a few log cabins, inhabited by the French bordering both banks of the River Raisin, and with the surrounding land enclosed with pickets. The first American settler was established at that place in 1793, and a Catholic chapel was soon erected for the accommodation of the French. A narrow path ran along the bank, and bordered the French plantations. Two Indian villages, that of the Ottawas and Pottawatamies, formerly occupied that point; while that of the Hurons was established at Brownstown. A depot of the fur trade for the North-western Company, for a long period it was made the concentrating point for the surrounding Indians, who were constantly repairing to the village in order to exchange their furs for blankets, red cloth, silver ornaments, arms and ammunition. It is a somewhat singular fact that money was refused by the traders for goods, and the Frenchmen were required to bring in produce in exchange for them, which was transported to the Upper Lakes for the use of the fur companies.

This most decisive campaign of Gen. Wayne disheartened the savages, as well as the British Government. Their hordes soon dispersed, and the treaty of Greenville, made in August, 1795, terminated for a time the troubles of the frou-

* Discourse of Henry Whiting before the Historical Society of Michigan.

tier. The posts of Mackinaw and Detroit were evacuated after the wells of the latter station had been filled with stones, the windows broken, the gates of the fort locked, and the keys deposited with an aged negro, in whose possession they were afterwards found. These were, however, soon garrisoned by detachments from Wayne's army, and in 1796 Captain Porter first raised the American banner upon the soil of Michigan.

We have thus traced, in a brief way, the condition of Michigan under the French, and its transfer to the British Government ; and now a new power sprang up on the land. The succession of its changes shows us the mortality of empires as well as of men. They rise before us like the pageantry of a theatre ; scene after scene opens upon us with all the array of human passions, the curtain falls, they sink from our sight, and another is now spread out under the auspices of a Republic.

CHAPTER X.

Condition of Michigan after the surrender of the posts—The Territory of Michigan erected—Gen. Hull appointed Governor--Detroit destroyed by fire--Administration of the Law--Indian Confederation upon the Lakes under Tecumseh—Speech of Le Marquait—Speech of Walk in the Water and other Wyandots--Memorial from Michigan to the General Government--Population in 1811--Hostility of the Savages--Land Office established—Indian Treaties--Operations on the Wabash.

MICHIGAN having been surrendered to the United States, in common with the other portions of the north-western territory, it came immediately under the jurisdiction of the ordinance of 1787. At that period it was populated chiefly by the French and English, and their sparse settlements were confined to the banks of the principal streams, and to the military establishments and trading posts along the Lakes. But few American settlers had at that time emigrated from the east, excepting those belonging to the forts. The land itself, the basis of controversy between the savages and the United States, removed from the more densely populated parts of the country, presented but few of the means and motives for emigration and settlement; and that vigorous enterprise, which is now acting on the soil under the influence of well-organized institutions, was then unknown.

But the jealousy which existed on the part of the English at the rich conquest which had been effected by American arms, soon tended to sow discord among the Indian tribes. The argument which was urged for that object, was the same which had been used against the English by the French, namely, that it was the design of the American Government to overrun the country and drive the Indians from their land. There is little connected with the progress of the country like that which belongs to densely settled states. There are no records of growth, agriculture, and navigation. Roads had not been constructed, cities had not been built. The

greater part of its domain was "fresh, untouched, unbounded, magnificent wilderness," excepting the little clearings around the villages, the scattered French settlements, the trading posts and the forts; a battle ground of rival and zealous powers, grasping at the dominion of the country. The first governor of the north-western territory, as we have before remarked, was Arthur St. Clair, who was therefore the first American magistrate under which Michigan was placed. This part of the north-western territory was, however, the mere outskirt of that wide extent of jurisdiction, the central point of whose government was first at Marietta and afterwards at Cincinnati. The population was so sparse, that there was no effective policy here organized. In the year 1798, the north-western territory assumed the second grade of territorial government; and the territory of Michigan, as afterwards established, comprised a single county of that territory, the County of Wayne. It then sent one representative to the general assembly of the north-western territory, which was held at Chillicothe, and this was the first election made in Michigan under the American Government. A court of Common Pleas was established, and the general court of the north-western territory was sometimes held at Detroit. In 1802 the peninsular portion was annexed to the territory of Indiana, by the act of Congress which authorized the erection into a State of that part of the north-western territory which constitutes Ohio. The people, military in their habitudes of mind, had neither means nor the inclination to devote themselves to agriculture; and the commercial operations of the settlers were mainly confined to the fur trade.*

On the 11th of January, 1805, Michigan was erected into a separate territory by act of Congress. The government was

* The first fourteen American emigrants, who settled in the territory after the surrender of the posts in 1796, were,

Solomon Sibley,	Christian Clemens,	James Henry,	Col. Hunt.
John Whipple,	James Chittenden,	Elijah Brush,	Augustus Langdon,
Dr. Brown,	Benjamin Chittenden,	H. B. Brevoort,	Major Whistler,
William Russell,	Doct. M. Crosky.		

Journal of Legislative Council, Sept. 7. 1823.

ordained to be established on the plan which had been prescribed by the ordinance of 1787. The legislative power was to be vested in the governor and judges, who were authorized to adopt and publish its laws from the codes of the original States ; and William Hull was appointed governor of this territory, and also Indian agent, which was then embodied in the office of executive magistrate. This appointment was made under the administration of Jefferson. On the second Tuesday in July, 1805, the oaths of office were administered to the several officers of the territory, and on that day Michigan commenced its governmental operations. This was, however, done under unfavorable circumstances. On the morning of the 11th of June, the *Town of Detroit* had been destroyed by fire. It then covered only two acres of ground. The buildings were closely compacted, with narrow streets of only fourteen or fifteen feet wide ; and, as a matter of defence against the Indians, the village was environed with strong and solid pickets. The houses being so closely built, and comprised of combustible materials, were soon swept away by the conflagration ; and when the officers of the government arrived, they found the body of the people encamped housely on the public grounds within the vicinity of the town, while some had taken refuge in the neighboring country on both banks of the Detroit River. Some houses had, however, been re-erected on the old site, and it was made the object of the new government to direct the attention of Congress to the distressed condition of the people. Courts were organized. A judicial system was established, and the territorial militia was disciplined and brought into the field. The attention of Congress was also called to the land claims which were made by the settlers, founded on occupancy, or grants under the French and English Governments. On October 10th, 1805, a report was made of the affairs of the territory and forwarded to Congress, and in May, 1806, the first code of laws was adopted and published for the territory of Michigan, which was called the "Woodward Code." This code was signed by Governor Hull, and Augustus B. Woodward and Frederick Bates, the judges of the territory.

The bounds of the territorial government embraced all that country on the American side of the Detroit River east of a north and south line drawn through the centre of Lake Michigan.

The records of the court of Common Pleas of Wayne County, Detroit, in the north-western territory, in 1788, exhibit singular facts, which denote a crude and ill-organized frame of jurisprudence.

On Saturday, the 10th of December, the court was opened by proclamation of the governor, and the commission of the judges and other officers was read, namely, Louis Beaufait, Esq., senior justice; James May, Charles Gerardin, Patrick McNiff, Nathaniel Williams, Esq., justices associates; George McDougall, Esq., sheriff. The verdict given at these courts was frequently that the defendant shall give to the plaintiff — day's work, without any other pay than his victuals; and another *verdict* of the jurors was, that the *plaintiff* was to receive his wood at the landing.

During the March term of the Common Pleas in 1799, Judges Louis Beaufait, James May, and Charles Gerardin being present in the case of James Abbot & Sons:

David vs. Powers, (Attorney) exception was taken to the proceedings of the court by the attorney for defendant, on the ground that the court was under duress. Detroit was at that time garrisoned, and Lieutenant Col. Strong, then commandant of the fort, had placed a sentinel at the door. The court was then held in a private house. The court, it is alleged, were very much hurt at the fact; and a letter was addressed to the acting commandant, requesting that the sentinel might be removed. This letter, however, was returned unanswered. After a long consultation, examination, and arguments as to the fact of what constituted duress, what door might be considered the court-house door, and the measure of restraint which the sentinel had upon the minds of the judges, certain formal questions were propounded to the attorney then acting for the county of Wayne, by the justices of the Court of Common Pleas of the

county of Wayne, on which he was required to give an answer.

1. Do you know by what authority the sentinel is placed at the back door of the house where the court is now sitting?

2. Do you consider this being placed there an obstruction to justice being administered?

3. Are the judges of the court *liable to indictment* for holding the court in this house while the *sentinel stands there*; and do you consider it as under duress?

4. Do you consider that the causes which are determined in this court, while the sentinel stands there, will be legal?

Answer to the first question, That the sentinel is placed at the door of M. Dodemead by Lieut. Col. Strong, commanding the U. S. regiment at the post of Detroit, in order to prevent all soldiers and followers of the U. S. army subject to military law from entering the house to purchase liquor.

As to the second question, it was determined that the sentinel was placed at the door of M. Dodemeads, and not at the door of the court-house.

As to the third question, it was answered that duress was a matter which divided its into two parts. First, duress; and second, the consequences attending thereon. First, duress is a matter of law, so far as to judge what is duress and what not. Should the fact exist that the court held its session under duress, they would undoubtedly be subject to indictment on information, and punished by the general court therefor.

Answer to the fourth question. The town of Detroit has long been a garrisoned town, with sentinels placed at the several gates thereof. There have been divers courts held therein within the lines of sentinels. To give an opinion upon the last question, would, in my humble opinion, call in question the legality of the proceedings of all courts held in this place.* Before I gave an opinion of such magnitude to

* Among other things attached, as appears of record in the June term of the Court of Common Pleas in 1800, are the following:—the property of Isaac Williams, 1 sword, 16 scalping knives, 1 silver-mounted whip, 4 volumes Blackstone, 4 volumes Burn's Justice, 1 Bailey's *Breeches*, 1 barrel spirits, 2 silk

the interests of the citizens of the County of Wayne, I must obtain further information, both from the law as well as the gentlemen of the bar.*

To the Hon. Court of Common }
Pleas of the County of Wayne. }

In order to provide for those who had suffered from the conflagration of Detroit, Congress passed an act in 1806, authorizing the governor and judges of the territory of Michigan to lay out a town, including the old town of Detroit and ten thousand acres of the adjoining land, with the exception of the tract to be reserved for military purposes. It also authorized any three of them to hear and adjust claims to any lots therein, and to grant deeds of lots not exceeding five thousand square feet, to all those, or their representatives, over seventeen years of age, who owned or inhabited any dwelling-house in Detroit when it was burned; and who did not, at that time, own or profess allegiance to any foreign State. All the land remaining after such claims were satisfied, was to be sold by the governor and judges, and the proceeds to be devoted to the erection of a new court-house and jail. At that period, however, the population was scarce; and was comprised mainly of the English and French, and the few emigrants who had hazarded the dangers of the wilderness in the employment of the government, or connected with the military posts. The country languished because there was little motive for emigration from the eastern States. The Indian title to the soil had not been generally extinguished, and no land was brought into market. There was, in consequence, little inducement for emigrants to remove from the eastern States to forests inhabited by savage enemies, and provided with but weak defences.

The territory of Michigan had been scarcely erected, and

gowns, 1 silk petticoat, 1 full riding dress, green superfine cloth, 19 Indian shirts, 18 bunches of beads, 3 deer-horn handle scalping-knives, red satin cloak, capote, Dutch oven, 4 pr. white corduroy breeches, 24 raccoon skins, 8 fox and cat, 10 deer skins, 10 bears and two cubs, 3 muskrats, and a pledge by Catherine Hewson for 18 dollars, consisting of four shrouds, 13 pr. of leggins, 1 shirt, one silk handkerchief, 1 pr. gaiters, 1 pr. moccasins, and 11 hogs.

* See Records of the court of the north-western territory.

American institutions organized within its bounds, when a new calamity broke out in another quarter. The Indian title had been extinguished only to a small portion of the soil, and the Indians who occupied and claimed the greater part of the country were dissatisfied at the inroads which were made by the Americans on their lands. They claimed that the treaties which had been effected with the American government were conducted on unfair grounds, when the savages were intoxicated; that they were deluded in the construction of these treaties; and that they had not the consent of all the tribes. The agents of the British Government, especially those in the employ of the North-west Company, were also active in fomenting the jealousies of the Indians against the United States. It was doubtless the policy of the English to wrest the country from the hands of the Americans, in order to secure to themselves the advantages of the territory. For the purpose of exciting the prejudices of the Indians, the English traders were active in sowing the seeds of discontent among their tribes; and British agents in disguise were despatched to the remotest tribes of the forest to secure their co-operation against the United States. Doubtless the spirit of land jobbing existed to a great extent, and this furnished good ground for action. It was a point insisted on by the Indians that they should have the undisturbed control of the north-western lands, without surrendering the right of pre-emption to the United States.

The British were not wanting in savage agents to carry out their projects; and at this juncture, Tecumseh, or the Tiger crouching for his prey, and Ellshwatawa, or the Prophet, the twin brother of Tecumseh, sprang forward into prominence. The subordinate chiefs were Myeerah, or Walk in the Water, Round Head, and Blue Jacket. Tecumseh was a warrior of the Shawanese tribe, without any hereditary claim to distinction, a seceder from the legitimate authority of his nation, the builder up of his own fortune. Although equally energetic and determined, and a more desperate warrior, he had not the imperial and overbearing grandeur of Pontiac. He was an open and avowed hater of the Americans, and was deter-

mined in his opposition to the advance of this nation on the Indian domains ; and perhaps urged by the English to organize a general confederacy against the United States, he adopted the same arguments for that object which had before been used by Pontiac. The Prophet was to be the first mover of this expedition, which was directed to unite in a general confederacy all the Indians of the north-west, against the progress of American settlements. For that object, the same superstition which had been used to prevent Jacques Cartier from ascending the St. Lawrence, and by Pontiac, in 1763, against the British, was called in aid of this work. As early as 1806 the Prophet, like Pontiac, commenced his project. It was affirmed that he had had a dream, in which he had seen the Great Spirit, and that he was made his agent on earth. That he had been directed to inform the Indians to throw away the arts of civilization, and to resume the ancient customs of their ancestors. He alleged that the Americans had driven the Indians from the sea-coast, and wished to push them into the lakes ; that they were to take a stand where they were, and drive them to the other side of the Alleghany Mountains. War belts were circulated along the whole chain of tribes on the north-western lakes, to induce them to join in this great Indian confederation. Knowing the strong influence which hereditary rank possesses with the Indians, it was also affirmed that the Shawanese were the oldest tribe on earth ; and that all men, both Indians and English, sprung from them.

As early as 1807 the efforts to organize this confederacy on the lakes had been commenced, and the fame of the Shawanese Prophet spread like the wind through the tribes of the north-west. The decline of the Indian power was considered, the advance of the American settlements was disputed, and the minds of the Anglo-savage portion of the Indians was excited to desperate action. Agents were despatched from the head-quarters of the Shawanese to the Lake Indians with messages and belts of wampum. On the 4th of May of that year, Le Marquois or The Trout, an Indian warrior, delivered the subjoined speech in council at Maïouitonong, near the entrance of Lake Superior, which purported to be the first

speech from the first man whom God had created, to all the Indian tribes said to be in the Shawanese country.

Speech of Le Marquois.

"I am the father of the English, of the French, of the Spaniards, and of the Indians ; I created the first man, who was the common father of all these people, as well as yourselves ; and it is through him whom I have awaked from his long sleep that I now address you. But the Americans I did not make. They are not my children, but the children of the Evil Spirit. They grew from the scum of the great water when it was troubled by the Evil Spirit, and the froth was driven into the woods by a strong east wind. They are numerous ; but I hate them. My children, you must not speak of this talk to the Whites ; it must be hidden from them. I am now on the earth, sent by the Great Spirit to instruct you. Each village must send me two or more principal chiefs, to represent you, that you may be taught. The bearer of this talk must point out to you the path to my wigwams ; I could not come myself to L'Arbre Croche, because the world is changed from what it was. It is broken and leans down ; and as it declines, the Chippewas and all beyond will fall off and die. Therefore you must come to see me, and be instructed. Those villages which do not listen to this talk, and send me two deputies, will be cut off from the face of the earth."*

This speech was sent by the prophet, and a deputation of the Ottawas was dispatched to convey messages and wampum along the shores of Lake Superior. By the instigation of the Prophet a vast body of the Indians from the shores of the lakes crowded to the Prophet's station ; and it is estimated that about eight hundred left the shores of Lake Superior for that quarter, one third of whom died on their way from want and hardship. The comet which appeared in 1811 was made use of by the Prophet to advance his own views, and to ripen the savages for the last great struggle which they were to make—the war against the Americans.

The subjoined speech of the principal chiefs and warriors

* American State Papers.

of the Wyandots, which was delivered to Gen. Hull on the 30th of September, 1809, exhibits the dissatisfaction of the Indians at the execution of the former treaties.

“ To His Excellency, Governor Hull.

“ FATHER: Listen to the speech of you children, the Wyandots, delivered by their chiefs and warriors, in which they let you know their sentiments.

“ FATHER, listen: for we speak to you now, to let you know the sentiments of our minds. We thought the land we resided upon was our own; formerly our old chiefs, who are now dead and gone, made a great promise to the Great Spirit above that they never would move from the land we, their children, now live upon and occupy. Father, listen. You informed us that the land we occupy belonged to you. At the treaty of Greenville, made with our father, General Wayne, he promised to us the land on which we live; and for that reason we never will consent to give up talking upon this subject. Father, listen; you will remember that some of our principal chiefs went last fall to visit our great father, the President of the United States. Our chiefs were very sorry that they could not get an opportunity to talk with our great father, the President of the United States, personally.

“ Father, listen: When you arrived at this place among your children, you always gave your children good advice to cultivate the land. Your children of the Wyandot tribe of Indians have followed you advice to their great benefit and satisfaction. Father, we were astonished when you told us that there was a small tract of land at Brownstown and Monguagon for our use for fifty years, and a vacancy in the middle between the two villages.

“ Father, listen to what your children, the Wyandots, say. This small tract of land is entirely too small for us. What will become of our children that are now growing up? Father, listen; you have cut off from us the best part of our land. Your children, the principal chiefs, the old warriors, head warriors, with some of our sensible young men of the Wyandot nation, request you to grant them the following fa-

vor,—that the boundary of our lands should commence at a small run, about half a mile from Walk in the Water's dwelling-house, on the north-east side, to run from thence along the Detroit River until it crosses the River Huron, for one mile, that is, the River Huron beyond Brownstown to the south-west, thence to extend back to the United States' purchase on a line established by the treaty of Detroit; beyond which to Rocky River we will for ever abandon further claim. Father, you know there is a bed of land between the two villages. The chiefs of the Wyandots and sensible young men of our nation wish you to let them have that bed of land which lies between the two villages. Father, the reason why your children like this bed of land so well is, they have made valuable improvements thereon, which have cost them both labor and expenses; and, what is still more sensible to our feelings, we love the land that covers the bones of our fathers.

“Father, listen: Those lands are our sole dependence for cultivating and hunting.

“Father, listen again: You inform us concerning our land, that we are only to enjoy them for fifty years. Your children are very uneasy at this information; they say, let us enjoy and have our land for ever.

“Father, listen: Your children say,—Let your children, the Wyandots, have their land for one hundred years. The reason why we say one hundred years, is this; if your children, the principal old chiefs of the Wyandot tribe of Indians, live so long in peace and quietness, when that day comes, at the end of one hundred years, father, we will again talk on the same subject.

“Father, listen: It surprises us, your children, that our great father, the President of the United States, should take as much upon himself as the Great Spirit above, as he wants all the land on this island. Father, we think he takes the word out of the mouth of the Great Spirit. He does not consider that he is master. Father, he does not think of the Great Spirit above, that he is omnipotent, and master of us all and every thing in this world.

"Father, listen to the request of all your Wyandot children. Grant us, we supplicate you, our land, in the quantity we have requested in this speech; then, father, we will thank the voice of the Great Spirit above, and thank our father, the President of the United States, in granting this.

"Father, listen: You requested your children last spring to take into consideration this subject concerning our land. We have complied with your request, and now give this answer.

"Father, listen: We hope you will not think it is for want of respect to you that we make known our sentiments on paper by our friend Jacob Visger. Father, as you have repeatedly promised your children that you would assist them, we will never forget your paternal care of us, if you will assist us at this present time in forwarding these our wishes and sentiments to our father, the President of the United States.

(Signed.)

Schow-Han-ret, The Black Chief.

Maera, Walk in the Water. Ha yane me-dac, Isedore.

Sin dac we no Yuch Sha Wa, no.

Te yuch-quant Rone-yae ta, Sky-light.

Han-nac-saw, Split Log. Ta-han none-ka.

The design of Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet, was to combine the tribes along the lakes into one general confederacy. The points insisted on were, that the Americans should be driven back over the Alleghany Mountains, and that the war should not be terminated until that object was accomplished. That after this was effected, the Indians should have undisturbed possession of their ancient hunting-grounds, and be placed under the protection of the British Government; and that the warriors who distinguished themselves in the war, should receive a present from the British monarch of very large medals. A large belt of wampum, upon which was worked the figures of the tomahawk and such symbols of war, was passed from tribe to tribe, with presents of tobacco and other customary ceremonies, as a pledge of belligerent co-operation. By this means a considerable portion of the

Miamis, the Ottawas, Chippewas, Wyandots, Potawatamies, Messessagas, the Shawanese, and the Winnebagoes, were induced to join that enterprize. In consequence of hostile demonstrations founded on this Indian confederacy, it was found necessary to increase the defences of Detroit, and a stockade was erected around the new town in 1807. At this period but few settlements had been made in the interior. The minds of the inhabitants were more occupied in defending their settlements against the dangers which threatened them from the enmity of the surrounding savages, than in extending their settlements further into the forest.

The plan of the Indian confederation was, in more than one respect, similar to that of Pontiac. It was proposed to surprise by stratagem the posts at Detroit, Fort Wayne, Chicago, St. Louis, and Vincennes; and to bring into the confederacy all the tribes upon the Mississippi. The British agent, Elliot, who was stationed at Malden, addressed a Miami chief in these words, "My son, keep your eyes fixed on me; my tomahawk is now up, be you ready, but do not strike till I give the signal." The Prophet and Tecumseh were doubtless instigated by the British Government to effect this confederation, in order to co-operate with the English when war should be declared between England and the United States. This confederation having been ripened, the flame of war at length broke out in 1811, near the Prophet's town on the banks of the Wabash. During the engagement between the troops of Gen. Harrison and the Indians at that place, in which the Indians practised the utmost address and perfidy, Tecumseh was absent. While the battle was raging, the Prophet was seen on an eminence, singing a war-song in order to inspire the Indians with greater confidence.

While these events were transpiring, the territory of Michigan was in a comparatively defenceless state. For the purpose of securing protection from the United States, a memorial was presented to Congress on the 27th of December, 1811, setting forth the condition of the territory, and praying for aid from that body against the augmenting hostility of the savages. There were then in Michigan only nine principal

settlements. These were on the River Miami, the Raisin, the Huron of Lake Erie, Ecorce, Rouge, Detroit, Huron of St. Clair, the River Sinclair, the Island of Mackinaw, besides several groups of cabins scattered through the forest. Those on the Miami, the Raisin, and the Huron of Lake Erie, comprised a population of 1340 ; the establishments at Detroit, the river Rouge, Ecorce, and the Huron of St. Clair, contained 2227 inhabitants ; and the Island of Mackinaw and the detached colonies constituted a population of 1070. The fort at Detroit was garrisoned by 94 men, and that of Mackinaw by 79. The aggregate population of Michigan at that time was 4860 ; four fifths of whom were French, and the remainder Americans, with a small portion of British.*

The hostile spirit, which had been thus excited by Tecumseh and the Prophet upon the lakes, soon manifested itself upon the Michigan frontier. The scattered settlements along the inland streams were at that time much exposed to the depredations of the Indians ; and the emigrants found their horses and cattle slaughtered around their huts. At French Town this devastation was carried on to the most formidable extent before the declaration of war between England and the United States. At one time bands of naked warriors, with feathers in their heads, whom the French called *des Iroquois*, made descents upon that village ; and in silence proceeded to destroy all property which was supposed to be required for the support of the army in the coming contest. Entering the houses of the French peasantry, they plundered the defenceless tenants of the provisions within them without exchanging a word with the occupants ; cut down the cattle in the fields, and with their tomahawks demolished the bee-hives which were found in their gardens. At that period, which was but a year before the declaration of war, the agency of the British was also manifest in the fact that a blacksmith's shop was erected near Kalamazoo ; and here were forged scalp-ing-knives and hatchets for the use of the savages ; and near it was a retired spot, nearly enveloped with vegetation, where

* Memorial from Michigan. For this document, see American State Papers.

the Indian women were collected to plant corn, while the warriors were assembling along the frontier and the British posts.

In the year 1804 a land office had been established at Detroit ; but its principal design was doubtless to adjust certain land titles springing from French grants, which were found to be defective, under the sanction of the *Coutume de Paris*, the law of France which governed the territory while under the French dominion. The public lands, which have been found to be a mine of immense value to the United States, could not then be regularly brought into market, because the Indian title had then been only partially extinguished.

In the year 1785 a treaty had been held with the tribes of the Ottawas, Chippewas, Delawares, and Wyandots, at Fort McIntosh, by which a belt of land, commencing at the River Raisin and extending to Lake St. Clair, with a breadth of six miles along the strait, was ceded to the United States ; and to this was added a tract of twelve miles square at Michilimackinac. In the treaty of Fort Harmar, in the year 1787, all the stipulations embraced in the former treaties were confirmed ; and in 1795 the belt of land, which has before been mentioned embracing Detroit, was again granted to the United States by the treaty of Greenville ;* and also twelve miles square at the Rapids of the Miami, together with the islands of Bois Blanc and Mackinaw ; and also a tract of land, six miles by three, on the main, to the north of the Island of Mackinaw. The gifts or grants to the British and French were also ceded to the United States. The tract of land first described as running from the River Raisin to Lake St. Clair, was the only soil which could be appropriated by the Whites to cultivation.

The foundation of many of the old French claims to land, is an act which passed the Congress of the United States in 1807, granting a confirmation of claims, to a certain extent, to those who had been in the possession of lands in the year 1796, when the country came under the actual jurisdiction of the

* See Appendix.

United States, and who had maintained their occupancy up to the date of that act. Subsequent acts passed Congress, extending the same advantage to the settlements upon the upper lakes.

In 1807 the Indian title to the soil began regularly to be extinguished. During that year Gov. Hull entered into a treaty at Detroit with the Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatamie, and Wyandot tribes, which annexed the lands that had not been ceded under former treaties within the line running on the western side of the counties of Saginaw, Shiawassee, Washtenaw, and Lenawe. These, however, were not brought into market until the year 1817. The southern boundary of this cession was the river and bay of the Miami, and embraced the lands lying east of a line drawn due north from the mouth of the Au Glaize, until it intersected the parallel of the outlet of Lake Huron, and extending in a north-eastern course to White Rock upon this lake. In 1806 there were about four hundred farms in the territory.

At this time there was no substantial defence to Detroit besides the fort, which was situated outside of the stockade, and in the rear of the original town, until the year 1807. During that year a stockade was constructed around the new town of Detroit, on account of certain threatening movements of the Indians, which continued until the year 1817. The progress of the settlement at this period was slow, but as rapid as could be expected from the circumstances of a remote and small village, located far away from the Atlantic coast, which contained the bulk of the American population, and destitute of any extraordinary means of advancement. Enterprize had not then pushed its energies so far into the wilderness as in modern times, and capital floated along the shores of the eastern States. In fact a great portion of that cultivated tract of country, which constitutes the splendid scenery of western New-York, adorned, as it now is, with large cities and villages, and intersected by rail-roads and canals, was a dense forest. The principal business of the settlements in Michigan was the fur trade ; and the wilderness around, instead of revealing its treasures to the substantial labors of agriculture, was pre-

served a waste for the propagation of wild game and the fur-bearing animals. No permanent settlements of any considerable importance had been made throughout this section of the country besides those at Detroit, Michilimackinac, a small establishment on the St. Mary's River, Fox River, of Green Bay, Prairie du Chien, and certain trading posts of eastern companies, some of which are now in ruins. "Grim-visaged war had smoothed her wrinkled front ;" and the country which had been for so long a period drenched in blood, now shone out in the mild but glorious light of peace.

But a crisis had now arrived which again called forth the military energies of this section of the country, and brought devastation upon the frontiers. The differences which had gradually sprung up between Great Britain and the United States, on the ground of international rights, soon ripened into open rebellion. It was preceded, however, in 1811, by hostilities upon the Wabash, under the instigation of Tecumseh, aided by his brother the Prophet. The basis of these hostilities was the fact that Elshwatawa the Prophet, who pretended to certain supernatural power, had formed a league with Tecumseh, to stir up the jealousy of the Indians against the United States. It seems that this was an act of pre-concert on the part of these brothers, in order to produce a general confederacy of Indians against the United States. Mutual complaints were urged on both sides. It was maintained by Governor Harrison that the Indians had endeavored to excite insurrection against the Americans, had depredated upon their property, and murdered their citizens ; and that they were, moreover, in league with the British. He ordered them, therefore, to return to their respective tribes, and to yield up the property which they had stolen, and also the murderers. Tecumseh, in answer, denied the league. He alleged that his only design, and that of his brother, was to strengthen the amity between the different tribes of Indians, and to improve their moral condition. In answer to Governor Harrison's demand for the murderers of the whites who had taken refuge among their tribes, he denied that they were there ; and secondly, that if they were there, it was not right to punish

them, and that they ought to be forgiven, as he had forgiven those who had murdered his people in Illinois. The Indians, comprised of seceders from the various tribes, were incited by the conviction that their domain was encroached upon by the Americans; that they were themselves superior to the white men; and that the Great Spirit had directed them to make one mighty struggle in throwing off the dominion of the United States. British influence, which had before exerted its agency in the previous Indian war, was active on the American side of the Detroit River; and it must be admitted that it had strong ground of action. An ardent correspondence had for some time existed regarding the conduct of the savages, and powerful efforts were made to dissuade them from advancing in their projects. In a speech which was sent to Tecumseh and his brother, complaining of injuries which had been committed by the Indians, and demanding redress, Gov. Harrison, who then resided at Vincennes, remarks, "Brothers, I am myself of the Long Knife fire; as soon as they hear my voice, you will see them pouring forth their swarms of 'hunting-shirt men,' as numerous as the mosquitoes on the shores of the Wabash. Brothers, take care of their stings."

CHAPTER XI.

War declared between Great Britain and the United States—Representations of Governor Hull—Governor Hull appointed to the command of the western army—Marches over to Sandwich, and addresses the Canadians—Policy of Prevost—Surrender of Detroit—Indians under Tecumseh—Conduct of Governor Hull—Expedition to the River Raisin—Capture of Chicago—Battle of the River Raisin—Gen. Harrison's Campaign—Naval Battle on Lake Erie—Harrison arrives at Malden—Marches to Detroit—Attack of Mackinaw—Peace declared.

IN June of 1812, an act was passed by the Congress of the United States, declaring war against Great Britain. The manifesto alleged, as grounds for this war, the violation of the American flag upon the high seas by the impressment of American seamen; the harassment of American vessels as they were entering or departing from British harbors; the shedding of American blood within the bounds of her jurisdiction; blockading the ports of the enemies of Great Britain, and not supporting these blockades by the application of fleets adequate to make them legal; in consequence of which American commerce had been plundered, and her products cut off from their markets; and for having employed secret agents to subvert the Government and to destroy the Union; and for stimulating the Indian tribes to hostility against the United States. At that period the country was unprepared for war. The regular army was small, and comparatively undisciplined. Most of the patriots of the Revolution had sunk into their graves, and the energies of the nation had become somewhat enervated by a long peace. Nor was the revenue adequate to the support of a long campaign. The navy, which had become somewhat disciplined by contact with the Barbary powers, was in a much better condition than the other branches of national defence. About one year before the declaration of war, Gen. William Hull, then Governor of Michigan, made an official statement to the general government of the condition of the American forces upon the

upper lakes. He alleged that the Americans had military posts at Chicago, Detroit, and Michilimackinac; and that the British at the two last-named posts was about equal to that of the Americans at Chicago, Michilimackinac, and Detroit; and in case of war, should the forces in Upper Canada join the British, their success in subjugating the American force on this side would be almost certain; as the militia in Canada amounted to about one hundred thousand men, while the force on the American side consisted only of about five thousand. He alleged that it was probable the services of the Indians, who infested the forests for two hundred miles around Detroit, would be enlisted in favor of British influence. He stated, also, that Detroit was the key to the upper region of the north-western lakes, and to a vast extent of back country; and that this post might command a wide tract of territory, and serve to keep the northern Indians in check. He therefore suggested that a naval force should be sent forward immediately on Lake Erie, sufficient to command the lake, and which might co-operate with the post at Detroit. In case that project should be defeated, Gov. Hull proposed that if war should be declared, Canada should be invaded by a powerful army sent over from Niagara, which should co-operate with the force at Detroit and subjugate the British provinces. If this was not done, he declared that the American posts must fall into the hands of the British.

In consequence, probably, of this suggestion, a campaign was projected by the government of the United States, which doubtless had for its object the conquest of Montreal. But the American troops, instead of concentrating at that point, were scattered along the whole line of the north-western frontier. The design seems to have been to invade Detroit and Niagara contemporaneously, on the supposition that the armies at these posts would move forward to Montreal, meeting on their way the force at Plattsburgh. For this object an army, destined for Detroit, was collected at Dayton, Ohio, even before the war was declared. It was comprised of about twelve hundred men, drafted from that State by the President of the United States; and this number was considerably aug-

mented by volunteers. The army was divided into three regiments, and these were placed under the command of Cols. M'Arthur, Cass, and Finelly. To these were added the fourth regiment, consisting of infantry and a few regulars, constituting in the whole about three hundred men; and these were placed under the command of Col. Miller. This force, together with an addition of a number of stragglers, was placed under the command of Gen. Hull. The prominent position which was sustained by Gen. Hull, as governor of Michigan; the fact that from his official station he was presumed to possess an accurate knowledge of the north-western frontier, and that he had formerly served with brilliant success in the army of Washington, were circumstances which were deemed sufficient to establish the propriety of vesting in this individual the first command. The General, therefore, having been ordered to proceed to Detroit, and to await there for further orders, left Dayton with the army about the middle of June, and passed through the trackless regions from that place to the Maumee of the lakes. The army was obliged to cut its way through the forest, but after suffering extraordinary hardship, it finally arrived, on the 30th day of June, at the Rapids.

There was gross negligence on the part of the war department in furnishing to the western frontier information of the declaration of war; because on the 26th day of the month Gen. Hull received intelligence by express from the Secretary of War, which contained no information of that event, although war had then been declared. The British diplomats, however, as soon as this had occurred, immediately conveyed information of that fact to the frontiers to their own men; and thus the English had already received information of the declaration before it had reached the American side. Gen. Hull, who had visited Washington, in order to relieve his army in some measure from its incumbrances, hired at the Rapids a vessel to convey to Detroit his baggage, a few who were sick, and certain hospital stores as well as valuable documents; and this vessel took the usual course to Detroit by the way of the Malden channel. On her approach to that point,

the vessel was captured, and the information of the declaration of war first broke upon the astonished crew from British lips as they boarded the American vessel. From these facts it will be perceived that Michigan, from her exposed location on the very frontier of the western territory, her proximity to the British provinces and distance from military aid, was made the first victim of the war of 1812. Gen. Hull reached Detroit on the 5th of July, where his forces were for some time employed in recruiting their strength and cleaning their muskets, which had become foul from a long exposure to the rains and damps of the forest. On the 9th of that month he received orders from Mr. Eustice, the then Secretary of War, to the following effect:—"Should the force under your command be equal to the enterprize, and consistent with the safety of your own posts, you will take possession of Malden, and extend your conquests as circumstances will allow."

His army were anxious to prosecute this enterprise immediately, and urged it upon Gen. Hull with great vigor. The garrison at Malden was at that time quite weak, and had no defence of any considerable consequence, excepting a few of the Canadian militia, who were of insufficient force to maintain an encounter with Gen. Hull. It was perceived by the instructions of the Secretary of War, that to invade Canada or to remain on the defensive was left discretionary with Gen. Hull. Malden was at that time the key to the Canadian provinces, and its possession would have been an immensely advantageous point in the subsequent campaign. Having made arrangements for the expedition, Gen. Hull crossed the River Detroit on the 12th day of July, and established his forces at Sandwich. Here he issued a proclamation, which was an impressive and energetic paper, and, backed by the bayonets of his army, had a powerful influence in keeping the Indians and the Canadians, many of whom were at heart opposed to the American cause, upon neutral ground. He invited the surrounding people to come in under the American banners, promising protection to the persons and property of the inhabitants of Canada in the name of his country, but extermination if they joined the British and savages against the United States. He at

the same time spread out to their view the advantages of becoming incorporated with a republican government, instead of being a servile appendage to the British monarchy. "Had I any doubt of ultimate success," says this proclamation, "I should ask your assistance; but I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will break down all opposition, and that force is but the van-guard of a much greater." This bold and eloquent document was from the pen of Governor Cass. Under this invitation, many of the Canadians came over to the American side. Some of the officers of his army were disposed to proceed immediately to the storming of Malden; but Gen. Hull, countenanced by a council of war, considered it expedient to wait for his heavy artillery, which, it was alleged, was preparing at Detroit. The American army, therefore, remained at Sandwich, while occasional foraging parties were sent out in order to procure provisions. Col. Cass, with a force of about two hundred and eighty men, soon after the army crossed, left the camp to reconnoitre the ground towards Malden, and he drove in a picket of the British which was stationed on a bridge crossing the river Canard. That bridge was only about four miles from Malden. After killing ten of the enemy, he took possession of the bridge. It was deemed important as a post by Col. Cass, and he proposed to Gen. Hull to maintain it as a prominent point for a future attack. That suggestion, however, was not regarded. Gen. Hull considered, or pretended to consider, that such a movement would probably bring on a general action, which it was desirous at that time to avoid, as it had been determined to wait for artillery, and Col. M'Arthur had already drawn off a considerable force from the main strength of the army.

During this delay at Sandwich, an expedition was instigated and actually sent out against Mackinaw. The first intimation which the commandant, Lieutenant Hanks, received of the declaration of war, was the summons from the British force to surrender under the very walls of the fort. It seems that the Indians were instructed to enter upon an indiscriminate massacre in case any resistance should be made; and as his force was incompetent to withstand the combined attack

of the British and Indians, Lieutenant Hanks surrendered on the 17th of July. Lieutenant Hanks had at his command only about fifty-seven men, and the combined strength of the British and Indians amounted to one thousand and twenty-four, composed of the Whites, Siouxs, Winnebagoes, Talleswain, Chippewas, and Ottawas.

Gov. Meigs of Ohio, had, in answer to the request of Gen. Hull, despatched Captain Brush to his aid with provisions. He was soon informed, however, that a party, constituted of British and Indians, had been sent out from Malden to Brownstown, in order to intercept him. Accordingly, on the 4th, Gen. Hull himself despatched a party, comprised of about two hundred men, under the command of Major Van Horn, to escort Captain Brush to the camp. The American party reached Brownstown on the 8th, but were surprised by the Indians, and the savages fired upon them from an ambuscade. The American party returned the fire, but they were soon overpowered by numbers, and fled from the field, where they left eighteen dead, and returned to Detroit.

From these facts, the enmity of the north-western savages was manifest, and it was anticipated that they would soon pour out from the wilderness, like the Goths and Vandals, upon the American forces. In fact, it had been the policy of Great Britain, as the war thickened, to excite a general confederacy of the Indian tribes against the Americans, under British protection. For this object councils were held, presents were forwarded, and the war-belt was circulated through the tribes. That volcano, which was pressed down by Gen. Harrison at the Prophet's Town in the battle with the Prophet, only slumbered to break out elsewhere with tenfold fury, and to pour its storms of fire upon the earth. Formal councils were held at Brownstown and Malden, in order to consider the propriety of their taking up arms against the Americans; and we have seen that they were instigated by Elliot, the Indian Agent, to sharpen their tomahawks for the conflict. The policy of Great Britain was to bring over to their cause the powerful influence of Tecumseh, aided by that of his brother the Prophet. It must be admitted that

the grievances of this warrior had a strong basis. Governor Harrison, as early as 1809, in his annual message to the Indiana legislature, declared, that owing to defects in the law of the United States, "every person has been allowed to trade with the Indians that pleases, which proves a source of numberless abuses, of mischievous effect both to them and ourselves." In his message, two years after, is the following statement :—that "the utmost efforts to induce them to take up arms would be unavailing if only one of the many persons who have committed murders on the people could be brought to punishment." It is clear, therefore, that although the country, in its corporate capacity, was not instrumental in committing wrongs upon the Indians, still it cannot be denied that base wrongs were actually committed by many Americans, as individuals, upon the Indians. The grand argument used by Tecumseh to induce the Indians to take up arms against the United States, was the fact that the white men were encroaching upon them, and taking away their lands, which the Great Spirit had ordained should be the common property of the Indians.

On the 8th of August, Gen. Hull called a council of war, in order to adjudge the question of expediency in proceeding upon the attack of Malden without the artillery from Detroit, and it was agreed to wait two days for the ordnance ; and in case it did not then arrive, to attack the fort. Between the fifth and the eighth day, the period which had been concluded upon as the time of attack, information was received by Gen. Porter, who then commanded the Niagara frontier, that the enemy were fast advancing to meet him ; that he need expect no diversion from the Niagara ; and that some of the British forces had already arrived at the garrison of Malden. These circumstances operating upon the somewhat timid mind of Gen. Hull, induced him to re-cross the river without any attempt at subjugating Canada. This he did on the 9th of August. His alleged ground for this proceeding, was the fact that Gen. Brock would soon arrive with succor to the British troops ; that the Indians were disengaged from Mackinaw, and would pour down in hordes upon him ; besides that

his supply of provisions would be cut off from his want of communication with Ohio.

This unfortunate exigency was brought about by the admirable policy of Sir George Prevost, the then Governor-general of Canada. As General Dearborn had been instructed to invade Canada from Niagara, and to co-operate with Hull at Detroit, it became the policy of the British to divide the two forces, in order that the English might prosecute their own ends. For that object Col. Baynes was sent from Montreal with a flag of truce, carrying to the American forces dispatches from his government containing a repeal of the British orders in council; and upon the probable ground that these might produce a peace, he demanded an armistice. His design was to cause a delay, by which Gen. Dearborn might be separated from Gen. Hull, and that the British force might through this means be able to concentrate its strength upon the single army of the last-mentioned general. It was stipulated by General Dearborn, that should the President of the United States disapprove of the armistice, hostilities should re-commence between the forces after four days' notice of that fact. But the delay occasioned by the communication from Washington would afford ample time for the Governor-general to effectuate his design. The armistice was disapproved by the President, but the Governor-general had gained his point before the news arrived to that effect.

On the day in which Gen. Hull re-crossed the Detroit River, Col. Miller was despatched with the fourth regiment and a body of militia, consisting of about 600 men, to escort the provisions which were expected from Ohio; and his advance guard, under the command of Captain Snelling, met the enemy near Monguagon. The guard maintained its position until it was backed by the main body. The enemy consisted mainly of British and Indians, who were defended by a rough breastwork. After a brief but sharp contest, they were dislodged, and driven in boats across the river, leaving the Americans masters of the field. As provisions were expected, Col. Miller remained for some time on the battleground, but he soon received orders from Gen. Hull to re-

turn to Detroit. Gen. Hull, in a letter to the Secretary of War, as matter of discouragement to the campaign, alleged that no advantage was gained by the American arms farther than the points of their bayonets extended. The battle of Monguagon was contended on the part of the British, by the English Canadians and Indians, who, having embarked from Malden, were drawn up in regular order of battle on the western banks of the river, and about fifteen miles below Detroit. In their defeat by Col. Miller, they retreated, under the cover of their armed vessels, toward which they were pursued for about two miles. Communications having been sent by Col. Miller to Detroit, Col. M'Arthur was detached with provisions for the American camp ; but a storm of rain coming on, the detachment was ordered by General Hull to return to the fort. In this action Tecumseh, the Shawanese warrior, leading on the savage hordes, maintained his brilliant reputation ; and, although wounded, maintained his ground while the British regulars gave way, leaving about forty Indians dead upon the field. Arrangements were now made convey the expected provisions by a more circuitous and less exposed route ; and Colonels M'Arthur and Cass, having selected three hundred and fifty of the best troops from the army of General Hull, left Detroit on the 13th of August, for this expedition.

Gen. Brock, one of the most energetic and able of the British commanders in Canada, arrived at Malden on the 14th of August, just five days after the armistice before-mentioned was to have taken effect ; and moving up to Sandwich on the 15th day of August, he summoned General Hull to surrender. It appears that the British General had inquired regarding the weak points of the character of his opponent, and had taken measures accordingly. As matter of inducement, he had sent a message to Gen. Hull to the following effect :—"It is far from my intention to join in a war of extermination, but you must be aware that the numerous body of Indians who have attached themselves to my troops, will be beyond my control the moment the contest commences." To this communication Gen. Hull answered : " I

have no other reply to make, than that I am prepared to meet any force which may be at your disposal." A knowledge of the character of Gen. Hull convinced Gen. Brock that he had only to assume a boldness and appearance of determination to accomplish his own designs. His procrastinating and indecisive spirit while in Canada, was in itself a demonstration of the character of Gen. Hull ; and it is alleged that the vessel which had been captured at Malden contained a correspondence exhibiting a want of energy and firmness. On the return of the answer of Gen. Hull, Gen. Brock commenced an immediate cannonade upon the American fort, which was returned with some effect on the American side from batteries which had before been muzzled. As it was probable, from the appearance of an armed vessel near the British side, that Gen. Brock intended to cross the river at Springwell, which is about — miles below Detroit, either at night or in the morning, Captain Snelling was sent to that point in order to prevent his passage. It was proposed that a heavy piece of ordnance should be placed on that bank, to compel the removal of the armed vessel, and also to prevent the crossing of the British force. Gen. Hull, however, disregarded this advice. Such a piece of ordnance would have done effective service, and, if abandoned, it might have been spiked. The detachment under Col. Snelling sent out for that object, was ordered to return by break of day to the fort. The Indian confederates of the English on the frontier of Michigan in 1812, were led by Tecumseh. This warrior was remarkable, not only for his courage, but for moral traits of character which made him prominent among the savages. There is evidence that during the whole course of the war he was opposed to the savage barbarities which were committed by the Indians on their prisoners, and that he disdained those little personal adornments which form a striking feature of Indian taste. His form and countenance were of a noble cast. About five feet ten inches high, he was muscular and agile ; and had a dignified expression of countenance, with an eye like that of the eagle. Like Pontiac, he exhibited more of inquisitiveness regarding the customs of the whites than is

usual with his race. In the battles of Brownstown, and at the surrender of Detroit, he was conspicuous. As an evidence of his aptness in war, Gen. Brock, before he crossed the river to Detroit, consulted Tecumseh as to the character of the country which he would be obliged to cross in case he advanced farther. Tecumseh, stretching a roll of elm bark upon the ground, with stones placed on each corner, etched with his scalping-knife a correct map of the woods, swamps, and streams of this portion of Michigan. Gratified with this display of aptitude, as well as for his boldness in inducing the Indians, not of his own party, to cross the Detroit River, Brock took off his sash, and publicly presented it to that warrior as an evidence of his approbation; but Tecumseh presented it to the Wyandot Chief, Round-Head, because, as he said, the Wyandot Chief was an older and better warrior than himself. Although Tecumseh had been invested with the rank of a Brigadier-general in the British army, he took no satisfaction in the military tinsel of civilized warfare, and he adhered with undeviating perseverance to the Indian garb. During the whole course of the war his dress was a deer-skin coat and leggins, and in that dress he was found when killed at the battle of the Thames. An excellent judge of position, his counsel was at all times valuable to the British commanders. When Detroit was surrendered by Gen. Hull, Tecumseh was at the head of the confederated Indians; and being requested by Gen. Brock, after the capitulation, not to allow his Indians to massacre the prisoners, "No," said he, "I despise them too much to meddle with them." He was naturally of a silent and contemplative cast of mind, better fitted for the stormy duties of the field than the discussions of the council; but, when roused, he could pour forth volumes of indignant and burning eloquence. Though he levied large subsidies to carry on his operations, it can be truly said to his credit that he preserved but little to himself. He fought not for profit or glory, but *for the* forests and the wigwams which gave him birth, for the rights of his fallen race. The American interest in his quarter, at that period, was environed with a powerful antagonizing in-

fluence. Besides the open and avowed enemies of the British, there were large bodies of traders connected with the British fur companies, which would have leagued themselves with the British if their aid was granted in the war. It was for the interest of these traders to exclude the Americans from the possession of the country, as they would, in the event of the conquest of the soil, secure a wider scope for the exercise of their trading operations. At all events, the embodying of these traders was a subject of great dread to Gen. Hull before his capitulation. The numerous tribes of savages on the lakes, led on by the British, contributed in no small degree to increase the terror of the then Governor of Michigan ; commanded, as they were, by Tecumseh, Marpot, Logan, Walk-in-the-Water, Round-Head, and Split-Log, each able and determined chiefs of malignant bands, who, under the conviction of real or imaginary wrongs, hated the Americans with the utmost intenseness, and had determined, by the aid of the British, to drive them, if possible, from the land.

Early on the morning of the 16th, the British crossed the river under cover of the armed vessel, and arrived without opposition at Springwell. Gen. Brock moved with his army in solid column along the bank of the river toward Detroit. At that period the Indians might be seen creeping along the edge of the forests back of Detroit, armed and painted for battle, like tigers crouching for their prey. When about a mile below the city, the British halted and took breakfast, when suddenly an order was given by Gen. Hull for the force which had been posted without the fort, to annoy the enemy, to retire within its walls. This order was received with the utmost indignation by the army, as the men retired within the fort, stacked their muskets, some of them dashing them with violence upon the ground. Soon after a white flag streamed out from the fort, an emblem of peace, but also of disgrace to the vanquished. Negotiations were immediately commenced, the regular troops were surrendered as prisoners of war. The public property was given up. No stipulation was made in favor of the Canadian allies, and the militia were ordered to return to their homes, not to serve again during

the war unless they were exchanged. Thus ungloriously terminated the campaign of Gen. Hull upon the north-western frontier. For this surrender he was tried before a court-martial for treason and cowardice. The court gave a verdict of acquittal on the first count, but condemned him on the second, for cowardice and unofficer-like conduct; and sentenced him to death, at the same time recommending him to the mercy of the President of the United States. He was pardoned by the Executive, but at the same time exiled from all military command. The British force is stated by Gen. Brock to have been thirteen hundred, seven hundred of whom were Indians; while Gen. Hull, in his official report, states the number of his own men to have been only eight hundred. Many of the Canadian militia were dressed in red coats, in order to appear like British regulars. It seems, in fact, that before Gen. Brock had reached Springwell, he received information from an Indian of the arrival of M'Arthur's detachment in the rear, and he hastened forward to prevent the defeat of his plans before the American forces should be combined. Col. M'Arthur surrendered on his arrival at the fort, although the party temporarily under the command of Captain Rowland, and which had been dispatched under Captain Brush, being then near the River Raisin, rejected the terms and retreated to Ohio. The force under Col. Cass was also embraced in the capitulation.

A feeling of deep apprehension seemed to pervade the breast of Gen. Hull on his first arrival at Detroit from the Canada side. He had sent to Captain Heald at Chicago, to evacuate that place and to conduct his force to Detroit. This was attempted, and the fort was destroyed. Before the detachments under Col. Cass and M'Arthur, he suggested to his officers the propriety of removing his whole force to the Rapids of the Maumee, on the ground that the whole British power from Niagara east along the upper lakes was collecting at Malden; that Lake Erie was shut up by an opposing force; and that all his stores would be cut off, as the entire road from Ohio to Detroit was infested by hostile Indians. This resolution, however, was not countenanced by his officers, and he was told that the Ohio militia would desert in a

body if the matter was attempted. In fact, before the surrender of Detroit, Gen. Hull communicated his design to send a flag of truce ; but he was advised to call a council of war, in order to consider the subject ; but he was answered, that there was no time for consultation. Gen. Hull subsequently made a defence of his conduct, and a public testimonial was given in his favor in the city of Boston. Some of the older citizens of Detroit allege that he had an interview with the British commandant on the evening previous to the capitulation, and that boxes of gold were carried to his house as the price of his treason. Of that charge he stands acquitted by the verdict of his country. Party feeling at that time ran high ; and it was alleged that his soldiers would not obey him. It is proved that the guards in the fort were allowed to sleep at midnight when the enemy were impending. Notwithstanding the want of forecast in the war department of the United States, in not furnishing a knowledge of the declaration of war, and providing the means of defence for the north-western frontier, Gen. Hull, if not adjudged guilty of downright treason, ought to be convicted at the bar of public opinion of a want of ordinary generalship and firmness. He allowed Col. Proctor, who had succeeded Col. St. George in the command at Malden, to erect batteries under the very guns of the American fort, upon the British bank of the river, without an attempt at prevention. He ordered Col. Miller to return to Monguagon, when he should have permitted him to proceed to the River Raisin. He neglected the nocturnal attack upon General Brock's forces, which had been recommended by Gen. Jesup. He allowed Gen. Brock to cross at Springwell without molestation. He was guilty of procrastination in prosecuting the siege of Malden, and gave up the foothold which he had already gained in Canada ; and, last of all, when the British were advancing against a fort, fortified with defences and fitted in every way for a siege, with the ramparts strong, the ditches broad and deep, upon a ground filled with the means of annoyance, and mounted with cannon loaded with grape shot, which would have mowed down harvests of death, with

an orchard on one side affording advantageous posts for riflemen, and on the other side a wide river, he hoisted the banner of peace, and gave up all to British conquest. Gen. Hull had bad advisers, but he ought to have relied on his own judgment. It is the province of History to rake out truth, even from the ashes of the dead, although no voice of defence can issue from the silence of the tomb, and the grave bars the door to human passions. Time had given decrepitude to his mind and body, and age had bleached his silver locks. The stone which covers his grave may be inscribed with the brightest records of his early fame, and Pity sheds a tear upon the blot which blackens the monumental marble.*

As it was made an important object to open a communication with the River Raisin, six hundred men were detached under the command of Lieutenant Col. Miller, to carry out that design and protect the provisions under the escort of Captain Brush. The force was comprised of the fourth United States Regiment, and two small detachments under the command of Lieut. Stansbury, and a portion of volunteers from Ohio and Michigan. When the detachment had proceeded so far down the Detroit River as Monguagon, about fourteen miles from Detroit, they were fired upon by a long line of British troops and Indians from Malden, which was formed behind a breast-work of logs, and stretching along the dense woods on the left. The Indian portion of the British force was under the command of Tecumseh. Lieutenant Miller ordered his whole line to advance, and with only a single fire, to proceed immediately to a charge with the bayonet. At this charge, which was executed in a most gallant manner, the British and Indians commenced a retreat, and continued moving on; while the Indians at the left, under the command of Tecumseh, fought with the utmost desperation. So great, indeed, was the obstinacy of the savages, that a single Indian, whose leg

* It is stated by a negro, who was in the employment of Gen. Hull, that the American commander passed across the Detroit River in a boat on the night preceding the surrender! that he there met a number of British officers, and received several boxes of gold as the price of his treason. It is due to justice to say that no credit should be given to such a statement.

was broken by a musket ball, and, when disabled and writhing upon the ground from the agony occasioned by the wound, deliberately loaded his rifle and shot a horseman belonging to the cavalry, who had straggled in that direction. This savage continued loading and firing until he was despatched by the breach of a musket. Many of the Indians were at that time seen lodged in the trees, where, with their arrows and rifles, they effected the most dreadful havoc. At this time the cavalry did not charge upon the enemy as they retreated; had they done so, the victory would have been complete and brilliant. On the British side, the regulars and volunteers consisted of about four hundred, together with a large number of Indians, commanded by Major Muir of the forty-first regiment. Major Muir and Tecumseh were wounded, while forty Indians were found dead upon the field. The Americans lost ten non-commissioned officers and privates killed, and forty-five wounded; and of the Ohio and Michigan volunteers, eight were killed and twelve wounded.

Captain Heald was captured under the walls of Chicago. Gen. Hull, while in Canada, actuated by a fear of the hostile Indians, had sent an order for Lieutenant Heald to evacuate that post, and to return to Fort Wayne. The garrison had at that time the amplest means of defence, but the order was received on the 9th of August, and left nothing to the discretion of the commandant. Captain Wells, who was not at that time connected with the Indian department, having substantial grounds to doubt the fidelity of the Potawattamie tribe, advised that the fort should be immediately evacuated before the Indians should have time to concentrate around it; but his advice was disregarded. In consequence of this neglect, before the occupants had made arrangements to leave the fort, about four hundred Indians had collected in the neighborhood. A promise was made that all the surplus stores of the fort should be at their disposal if they would forbear harassing the garrison on their march. It was conceived that a large quantity of powder and whiskey, which had been collected in the fort, would be an impolitic gift to the Indians: and Captain Heald therefore ordered the powder to be

thrown into the well, and the whiskey wasted. This was accordingly done. During the night, by some means which are not known, the Indians received intimation of this fact, and regarded the waste as an infringement of their vested rights. The act naturally tended to exasperate them greatly, and they therefore assembled in considerable numbers around the fort. It was then suggested by Captain Wells and Mr. Kenzie, an Indian agent, that a retreat would be unsafe at that time, but without effect. The whiskey having been destroyed and the ammunition lost, the means of defending the fort were gone; and the garrison, comprising several families, twelve militia men, and also fifty-four regular troops, took their line of march from the fort. When about a mile from the fort, the Indians were perceived making provisions for an attack, and the garrison prepared for a defence. After a short conflict, Capt. Heald surrendered; when several women, children, and about half his garrison had been killed. The prisoners were distributed among the tribes, and on the following morning the fort was burned to the ground. Captain Wells was an early victim to this disastrous conflict. Disappointed at the blind wilfulness of Captain Heald, in accordance with the habits of the savages in fits of disappointment, he had blackened his face, and was thus found among the slain. Captain Wells was a remarkable man. He had been captured, when a mere child, by the Indians, and was adopted by Mackinac, the Little Turtle, one of the fiercest warriors who had figured in Indian history. During the sanguinary defeats of Harmar and St. Clair, Captain Wells had commanded an Indian force of about three hundred young warriors. These were posted immediately in front of the artillery, and covering themselves behind logs and posts under knowls on which the guns were placed, they literally heaped up around the guns the bodies of the artillerymen. After that contest, Wells, foreseeing the advancing power of the whites, resolved to abandon the savages. His mode of expressing his determination was peculiar to the savage custom. Being alone in the wilderness with his adopted father, he remarked: "When the sun reaches the meridian, I leave

you for the Whites ; and whenever you meet me in battle, you must kill me, as I shall endeavor to do the same to you." Capt. Wells shortly after joined the army of Gen. Wayne, and by his knowledge of Indian customs was of essential service to the American forces, and fought with signal success. When, however, the war was concluded, and peace was restored between the Indians and the United States, he returned to his foster-father, the Little Turtle, and continued in unbroken friendship with him until the latter died in 1812. It is alleged, that when his body was found by the Indians at Chicago, they drank his blood, as they had imbibed a superstition that they should thus inherit his extraordinary military endowments.

After the capitulation of Detroit, the British established a provisional government in Michigan, and left a small force in charge of the fort. The Indians who had assisted them in this undertaking, claimed large rewards for their services, and were permitted to ravage the houses of the defenceless inhabitants of Michigan. They were compelled to submit to the atrocities of the savages, or to exile themselves in self-defence to remote regions.

The scene of the military operations of the Government in 1813 comprised the whole north-western frontier of the United States. To prosecute the campaign, the army of the West was organized with General Harrison as the commander, and was stationed at the head of Lake Erie ; the army of the centre was stationed between the two lakes, Ontario and Erie, and was commanded by General Dearborn ; and the army of the north occupied the shores of Lake Champlain, and was commanded by General Hampton. The design of this campaign was to subjugate Canada, and they had little to fear from the strength which the Governor-general could array against them. On the British side, the defence of the upper provinces was committed to Cols. Proctor and Vincent ; and Lower Canada was left in charge of Gen. Cheaffe, who was to act under the cognizance of the Governor-general. General Harrison had therefore more especially the command of the region upon Lake Erie. Having pro-

gressed as far as Sandusky, he despatched Gen. Winchester to the Maumee in advance of his troops. Gen. Winchester had sent out a foraging party to the River Raisin, and it arrived at that place on the 18th of January, 1813. There they dislodged a body of the Indians. On the next day, Gen. Winchester, having a force of about a thousand men, joined the advance party, and encamped on the north bank of the River Raisin. At the commencement of the winter Gen. Harrison's head-quarters were at Franklinton in Ohio. Gen. Winchester remained at Fort Defiance, with about eight hundred men, comprised of the most respectable young men of Kentucky, until information was received that French Town was in danger from the British and Indians. A force was despatched to Presqu' Isle, there to remain till it should be joined by the main body of his army. He was warned of the approach of the British from Malden, but he made no extraordinary efforts in self-defence. On the 22d, early in the morning, his force was attacked by the combined force of the British and Indians under Proctor, and the noted Indian chiefs, Round-Head and Split-Log. The left flank, under Major Madison, defended themselves with the utmost vigor and success, but being without any general commander, it soon fell back. An attempt was then made to retreat across the river; but that movement was anticipated, and the savages were posted in a position to oppose their progress. During the night, Gen. Winchester had taken lodgings upon the opposite side of the river, at the house of Col. Robert Navarre, and was not therefore prepared to make a defence. Major Madison, who had fought with so much gallantry, was soon informed by Gen. Winchester, who was then a prisoner, that the party had been surrendered. He had, however, taken the precaution to enter into a formal stipulation with Gen. Proctor to protect his troops from the ferocity of the savages after they should have surrendered.

The battle of the River Raisin develops one of the most infamous transactions which marked the operations of the war of 1812. Gen. Winchester having arrived at French Town, encamped on the banks of the Raisin, which now constitutes the

French Town side of the river, and while Col. Lewis and Major Madison seemed to be on the alert, the American troops occupied a greater part of the night in ranging about the village. During the evening, a Frenchman brought information that a force, consisting of British and Indians, supposed to comprise about three thousand men, were about to march from Malden soon after he left that place. This information, however, seemed to be discredited, because no preparations of any consequence were made in the American camp to guard themselves against surprise. Guards, however, were placed as usual around the encampment, although no picket guard was placed on the road through which the enemy might be supposed to advance. The night was extremely cold, and on the morning of the 22d. the reveille beat as usual at day-break. A few minutes after three, guns were fired in quick succession by the centinels. The troops were soon formed, and the American camp was immediately attacked by a heavy fire from the British, with bombs, balls, and grape shot. At night the British had taken advantage of the darkness, and planted their cannon on the right behind a small ravine. The fire from the cannon was suddenly succeeded by a general discharge from the fire arms of the British regulars, together with the onset of the savages with the most fiendish yells.

The regulars of the British soon approached within reach of the fire arms of Lewis's camp, and they were soon repulsed in the left and centre. Gen. Winchester having arrived from the opposite bank of the river with a reinforcement, opposed to the heavy fire of the British, and unprotected by any breast-work, soon fell back. The order was then given for the retreating troops to rally behind a fence and the second bank of the river, to incline toward the centre, and take refuge behind the pickets. This order was either not heard or understood ; and the necessary consequence was, that the retiring line, being pressed by the British, and attacked on their right by the Indians, retreated in great disorder over the river.

In the mean time the right wing was attempted to be reinforced by a detachment sent out from the pickets of the American camp, together with Colonels Lewis and Allen, who

exerted their efforts to rally the retreating soldiers, and also those who had been scattered through the gardens and pickets of the village. This, however, was done without success. The suddenness of the attack, the want of preparation, and the British force, whose vigorous onset, together with the Indians, who made the battle-field more horrible by their yells, caused a general panic among the American troops. Indians were stationed upon almost every avenue which could command a retreat, and upon the edge of the bordering forests. A long narrow lane leading from the village, and which the soldiers attempted to pass through, was guarded on both sides by Indians; and the retreating Americans were shot down in great numbers. A party of a hundred men, who had fled to the borders of the woods, were surrounded and massacred with the tomakawk; while the flying soldiers were met at every point by the Indians, who, with that refinement of cruelty which belongs to their vindictive character, brained them with the war club and the hatchet.

Col. Allen behaved with extraordinary courage during the whole action, having several times endeavored to rally his men, but without success, although he was wounded in the thigh. Having escaped about two miles from the spot where the action had chiefly raged, and exhausted, from the loss of blood as well as from fatigue, sat on a log, when he was seen by an Indian, who knew from his dress that he was an officer of distinction, and therefore wished to take him prisoner. Coming near the American, the savage, who was an Indian chief, threw his gun across his lap, and told him to surrender. At the same time another Indian, who advanced with hostile attitude, was laid dead at his feet by one stroke from the sword of Col. Allen; Col. Allen, one of the most respectable citizens of Kentucky, was then shot by a third Indian. Detached parties of men, who had escaped to those points where escape seemed possible, were shot down, and their unburied bodies were left to feed the wolves and Indian dogs. About three quarters of a mile from the village, Gen. Winchester and Col. Allen, together with a few others, were captured at a bridge, and taken to the British lines after having been stripped of

their coats. It is affirmed that Round-Head, who, together with Split-Log, commanded the savages, was seen arrayed in his dress on that occasion.

While these scenes were passing around, Majors Graves and Madison had maintained their position within the pickets of the American camp, although assailed by Proctor and his savages. A cannon was posted by the British behind a house about two hundred yards down the river. By this the camp was considerably annoyed. No ground, however, was yielded. "Never mind me, but fight on," said Major Graves, a gallant officer, to his soldiers, while he bound up his own wound which had been received in the knee.

The American army having been routed, a flag was seen advancing from the British lines, and conveying an order from Gen. Winchester, directing the officers of the American forces to surrender them prisoners of war. Col. Proctor demanded an immediate surrender, and threatened if this was denied, the village should be burned, and the Indians should be permitted to go forward in an indiscriminate massacre. He was answered by Major Madison, that it had been customary for the Indians to massacre the wounded and prisoners after a surrender, and that he would not agree to any capitulation which General Winchester might direct, unless the safety and protection of his men were stipulated. "Sir," said Col. Proctor, "do you mean to dictate to *me*?" "No," said Madison; "I mean to dictate for myself, and we prefer selling our lives as dear as possible, rather than be massacred in cold blood." A surrender was accordingly agreed upon in the following terms: that private property should be respected; that the next morning sleds should be sent to convey the sick and wounded to Amherstburgh; and that the side arms of the officers should be restored to them at Malden. These terms were perfected, while the Indians commenced a general plunder. Major Madison having received information of this conduct, ordered his men to exclude all Indians from his line, and if they came into the lines and attempted violence, to shoot or charge them with the bayonet.

These troops were comprised, in a great measure, of volun-

teers from some of the most respectable families of Kentucky, young men of chivalrous character, in the full bloom and glory of ripening manhood.

But the crowning disgrace of this transaction remains to be described. While the principal part of the Indians went to Stony Creek, about six miles below Malden, a few stragglers remained, who went from house to house in quest of plunder. The prisoners of the British still remained at French Town. About sunrise, a large body of Indians, comprising about two hundred, returned, painted black and red ; and a council being held, it was determined to massacre the Americans in revenge for the loss of their warriors. The savages soon began to yell, and to plunder the houses of the inhabitants. Breaking into the houses where the wounded prisoners were lying, they stripped them of their blankets, and then brained them with their tomahawks. Two of the houses, which contained a greater part of the prisoners, were set on fire, and most of the wounded were consumed. Those who were able to crawl about, and who endeavored to escape from the windows, were wounded with the hatchet and pushed back into the flames ; while others on the outside were killed, and thrown into the conflagration, others were massacred and left in the highway. Major Woolfolk, the secretary to Gen. Winchester, was shot through the head, and left in the street, where he was partly devoured by the hogs before he was removed.* The few prisoners who remained were taken towards Malden, but as soon as they became by their weakness unable to march, they were massacred, and left dead upon the road. Thus ended this affair of the River Raisin, a foul blot on the character of General Proctor.†

“Their very graves are gone, and what are they ?
 The tide washed down the blood of yesterday !
 And all was stainless, and on thy clear stream
 Glassed with its dancing light the sunny ray,
 But o’er the blacken’d memory’s blighting dream,
 Thy waves would vainly roll.”—————

* See Life of Gen. Harrison, by Moses Dawson.

† It is stated, by a respectable citizen of Monroe, formerly an Indian trader, that the Indians were provided with whiskey at Stoney Creek, by the British, in order to excite them to this massacre.

The information of the capture of Gen. Winchester reached Gen. Harrison while on the way to aid the American General. As there was, therefore, no benefit in advancing, Gen. Harrison was induced to stop at the Rapids, where he constructed a fort, called Fort Meigs. At that place he was besieged by Gen. Proctor, with a force of about one thousand regulars and militia, and twelve hundred Indians, for the space of nine days. Finding this siege ineffective, Gen. Proctor soon retired to Malden. Gen. Harrison then proceeded to Franklinton, leaving the fort in charge of Gen. Clay. A reinforcement, of about twelve hundred men, was sent out from Kentucky. Gen. Harrison, on returning to the fort, was summoned to surrender to the British, but his reply was worthy of Leonidas. He answered, "That he would not, while he commanded, surrender to a force urged on by savage allies." General Harrison was soon reinforced by eight hundred men under General Clay. They destroyed the batteries which had been erected on the other side of the river. Soon afterwards a sortie was made from the fort, and the British and Indians fled, pursued by Col. Dudley. In their advance, however, they soon came upon an ambush of the Indians, and only one hundred and fifty of their men escaped. This ambush was laid under the direction of Tecumseh. The successive disasters which had befallen the Territory of Michigan covered it with gloom, and it was feared that the British power would gain the ascendancy upon the north-western frontier; although the operations of Gen. Harrison upon the Ohio frontier occasionally threw flashes of hope across the darkness. The actual position of Michigan, in connection with the war, was not, however, altered until the action of Commodore Perry with the British fleet on the 10th of September, 1813, which connected Michigan once more with the Union, by the establishment of a free passage for the American forces across Lake Erie.

Ohio and Kentucky had aroused at the call of Gen. Hull for aid at the commencement of the north-western campaign, and a force was raised consisting of about seven thousand men from Kentucky, and about half of that num-

ber from the adjoining State of Ohio. Virginia and Pennsylvania had also furnished their quota of men for the same objects. But these troops, taken, as they were, from the volunteers of the several States, exhibited more of courage and patriotism in the cause of their country, than military discipline and subordination. An army constituted of such men were actually on the advance through Ohio to the aid of Gen. Hull when they received the information of his surrender at Detroit. A general confederation of Indians upon the north-western frontier, similar to that which had before been established by Pontiac, had also been effected by Tecumseh, aided by his brother, the Prophet. This alliance, instigated by the British against the United States, harassed the Americans on every side.

The great disadvantage which was experienced by the Americans in conducting the war, was, the fact that they were cut off from all aid from the Eastern States by the way of Lake Erie. It was an important object, therefore, for the American cause to obtain the command of that inland sea. That lake was watched with lynx-eyed vigilance by a British fleet under the command of Commodore Barclay, which constantly hovered around the Canadian shores. In order to secure the command of the lake, an American fleet was built under great disadvantages at Erie, in Pennsylvania, a port on the lake shore. She was placed under the command of a young officer, Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry. The fleet of Commodore Perry could not cross the bar at the mouth of the Erie harbor with her armaments, and he was watched with sleepless scrutiny by the British commander, under the conviction, that if he ventured out at all under these circumstances he would be defeated. Commodore Perry was induced to ride at anchor for some days in the harbor of Erie. At this trying juncture, the British fleet somewhat relaxed its vigilance, and in September retired to the upper end of the lake. The American commander then sallied across the bar, and prepared his fleet for action. The American and British fleets were now both on the wide expanse of Lake Erie, the tonnage of both fleets was about equal, and a young American officer was about to con-

tend with Commodore Barclay, a veteran in the British service, and on the boasted element of the British navy.

On the evening of the 9th of September, 1813, Commodore Perry called alongside the ship of Capt. Elliot, and left word that he wished to see Capt. Elliot and Capt. Brevoort in the evening on board the *Lawrence*. The unhealthy condition of the crew was at that time stated. But, after deliberation, it was determined, if opportunity presented, to attack the enemy in the Detroit River. Captain Elliot was to lead and attack the ship *Detroit* at her moorings, and Commodore Perry was to silence the battery which covered her on the main land, and act as circumstances required. At daylight on the next morning, while the anchors were a peak and the crew were shaking out the top-gallant sails, the enemy was discovered near the Middle Sister, an island in Lake Erie, coming down under a light sail. After beating out of Put in Bay, the fleet ranged alongside of the *Lawrence*, when Capt. Brevoort was requested by Commodore Perry to name the different ships of the enemy. This he did. The following was found to be the force of the British squadron :

Ship <i>Detroit</i> ,	19 guns, 1 on pivot, 2 howitzers.
Queen Charlotte,	17 guns, 1 do.
Schooner <i>Lady Prevost</i> ,	13 guns, 1 do.
Brig <i>Hunter</i> ,	10 guns.
Sloop <i>Little Belt</i> ,	3 guns.
Schooner <i>Chippeway</i> ,	1 gun, 2 swivels.
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The squadron of the United States consisted of the

Brig <i>Lawrence</i> ,	20 guns.
<i>Niagara</i> ,	20 guns.
<i>Caledonia</i> ,	3 guns.
Schooner <i>Ariel</i> ,	4 guns, one burst early in the action.
<i>Scorpion</i> ,	2 guns.
<i>Somers</i> ,	2 guns and 2 swivels.
Sloop <i>Trippe</i> ,	1 gun.
Schooner <i>Tigress</i> ,	1 gun.
<i>Porcupine</i> ,	1 gun.
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After the force of the enemy was discovered, the arrangement of the previous evening was reversed, and it was determined by Commodore Perry to attack the flag-ship himself, to oppose the *Caledonia* to the *Hunter*, the *Niagara* to the *Royal Charlotte*; and the rest of the American fleet were ordered to attack their opponents by signal, and act according to the circumstances. At that time the wind was light and ahead, but finally changed in favor of the Americans. Previous to the action, the *Ariel* and *Scorpion* were ordered to take post on "the weather bow and ahead" of the *Lawrence*, in order to draw off a part of the fire of the enemy, as they carried long guns, which did great execution.

The action was commenced by the British from their flag-ship before a gun was fired from the American squadron, as the last were at too great a distance. At length a fire was opened upon her by the *Lawrence*, and as they neared, it was commenced by the whole fleet. The breeze soon freshened, and the *Niagara* shot ahead; Lieut. Turner of the *Caledonia* was requested by Capt. Elliot to put his helm up, and permit him to pass to the relief of the *Lawrence*. About that time the ball of the *Niagara* getting short, the hold was broken up for the purpose of procuring some of thirty-two pounds, which was stored as ballast; when it was found that the *Niagara* had received several shots between wind and water. Several having been killed and wounded on board the *Niagara*, and after she had repaired her rigging, which had been considerably damaged, a boat was despatched to the *Lawrence* for large ball. At the same time a boat was descried coming from the *Lawrence* to the *Niagara*, whose top-sails were thrown aback for the purpose of allowing her to come alongside. It was Commodore Perry. He was met at the gang-way by Captain Elliot and Captain Brevoort. "I am afraid," says he, "the day is lost, these d—d gun boats have sacrificed me." "No," said Elliot, "take charge of my battery, and I will bring them up, and save it;" and immediately departed for that object in the same boat.

The *Niagara* having before driven the *Royal Charlotte* out of line with grape and langrade, continued her course, and

attacked the enemy's flag-ship with tremendous discharges of grape shot. The whole crew of the British ship was driven below. About this time Capt. Elliot came up, and took a raking position under the Detroit's stern, and by the first discharge killed and wounded sixty on board the enemy's flag-ship, which terminated the action. It appears that the flag of the Royal Charlotte had been nailed to the mast, and, as the crew was driven below from the severity of the fire, it was a matter of surprise, that the British flag should be flying while no resistance was made; and, amid the confusion of battle, the Charlotte, which was abreast of the Detroit when she was grappled by the American fleet, and actually shot through the bulwarks.* At length a white garment was shaken from the end of a pike, both at the bough and stern, which indicated the surrender of the British fleet to the Americans. The number killed and wounded on board the American fleet was one hundred and twenty-three—twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded.†

The success of the American fleet on Lake Erie opened the way for the progress of General Harrison, who, on the 23d of September, advanced towards Malden. On his arrival at Amherstburgh, instead of finding the British arms ready to oppose him, he met the Canadians, with their wives and daughters, bearing in their hands the emblems of peace, who had there assembled to solicit his protection. General Proctor had evacuated Malden, after having burned the fort and public store-houses, and retired to the Moravian Towns on the Thames about eighty miles from Detroit. The American force then took possession of Detroit. On the next day General Harrison marched in pursuit of Proctor; and the Battle of the Thames, in which Proctor was defeated together with an army of two thousand men, many of whom were Indians, concluded the brilliant campaign of General Harrison upon the north-western frontier.

* For an account of this battle, the author is indebted to Capt. H. B. Brevoort, who is mentioned in terms of high commendation in the official despatches of Commodore Perry.

† Brannan's Official Letters.

But the most important battle of this section of the country affecting the prosperity of Michigan, was that of the Moravian Towns upon the Thames. Col. Proctor had been advised by the chief of the Indian forces, Tecumseh, to hazard an encounter at Malden, but neglecting this advice, he had proceeded to the post which has been mentioned. His force at this time consisted of eight or nine hundred British troops, and fifteen hundred Indians, commanded by Tecumseh in person. The American army was composed of twenty-seven hundred, of whom one hundred and twenty were regulars, thirty were Indians, and the remainder were militia infantry and mounted volunteers, armed with rifles and muskets. Some of these, however, were constituted of the chivalry of Kentucky, men in the vigor of youth, who were burning with revenge at the dastardly massacre, which had been perpetrated by the agency of Proctor, of their brothers and friends at the River Raisin. The Indians were posted in a swamp. Extending in a line of unknown distance, they formed the right wing; while the British troops, drawn up between the swamp and a river which was not fordable, formed the left. It was evident that the British wing was the weakest part of the position, and accordingly it was determined by Gen. Harrison to attack the British with his right reinforced with all the disposable force of his left. The lines of the right wing were therefore increased to two or three, and presented a front as extensive as the British infantry, while a refused wing was thrown back in a line at right angles with the other troops, presenting a front parallel to the swamp. The regular troops formed a detachment to seize the enemy's artillery, and the few friendly Indians were ordered to attack his flank from their position under the bank.

While these arrangements were in operation, they were in front of the British troops, and, as they could not cross the river, they were directed to penetrate the swamp, and turn the right of the Indians. The American infantry were on the point of being set in motion, when Major Wood, who had been sent to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, returned, and informed the American General that

the British were in two lines, and being unable to occupy the whole space between the swamp and the river in close order, they had accomplished it by opening their files. At this instant a sudden thought flashed upon Gen. Harrison,—“Instead of sending Johnson to the swamp, he shall charge upon the British lines. Although without sabres, and armed only with rifles and muskets, he will break through them.” This was no sooner said than done. A desperate charge was made, the enemy were routed and put to flight; and Tecumseh, the leader of the savages, was killed, it is supposed, by the present Vice-President of the United States, Col. Richard M. Johnson. The army remained during the 6th upon the battle-field, to take care of the wounded, to bury the dead, and to provide for the transportation of stores which had been taken from the enemy. Having left the command of the army with Governor Shelby, Gen. Harrison set out on the morning of the 7th, accompanied by Commodore Perry and his aids-de-camp, and arrived at Detroit on the succeeding day.*

It was in anticipation to despatch a body of troops to reduce Mackinaw. Certain vessels and troops were designated for that purpose, but it was prevented by the non-arrival of two schooners, the Chippeway and Ohio, which had been sent to Cleaveland and Bass Islands for provisions. They had arrived off Malden, but a storm from the westward drove them to the lower end of the lake, where they stranded. The supplies which they contained were found necessary for the expedition, and Commodore Perry was unwilling to hazard the vessels upon the Upper Lakes, unless they could depart immediately. This movement of Gen. Harrison thus effectually uprooted the British power from this part of the northwest, and General Cass was left with a brigade to protect the territory of Michigan.

Tecumseh, the Shawanese warrior, in connexion with his brother, was the grand instigator of the anglo-savage confederation. The most powerful chief since the age of Pon-

* See Dawson's *Life of Harrison*, p. 433.

tiac, he was distinguished alike for his bravery on the field and his eloquence in council. An alien from the tribes, he soon became their leader against the United States. With all the boldness, he had also all the nobleness of a lion. The spirit which burst forth like a meteor upon the shores of the Wabash was only quenched in death. At that period, like Hannibal, he had sworn eternal war against the United States before the altar of the Great Spirit, and he died as he had lived, with the hatred of the white man on his lips. In the following October a treaty of peace was concluded by the General Government with the Indian tribes, constituted of the Ottawas, Chippewas, Miamis, and Pottawatamies; in which they agreed to "take hold of the same tomahawk with the Americans, and strike at the enemies of the United States, whether they be British or Indians." In the memorable defeat of Gen. Proctor at the Moravian Towns, six brass field-pieces were taken by the army of Gen. Harrison, which had been surrendered by Hull at Detroit, and on two of these were engraved the following words—SURRENDERED BY BURGoyNE AT SARATOGA. Gen. Harrison having effected the object of his campaign, left Gen. Cass in command at Detroit, and moved down toward the Niagara frontier.

The only part of the territory then remaining in the hands of the British was the Island of Michillimackinac. This island is about three miles in diameter, and was then covered with a dense mass of forest, occasionally broken by a patch of cleared land. It was intersected by crooked trails and bridal paths. On the one side was the fort adjoining the village, and on the other this heavy mass of wilderness. Lieutenant Col. Croghan, a young man, who had with signal valor defended Sandusky during the early part of the war, had command of the land forces; and Commodore Sinclair, of the fleet which was to transport the force sent out on an expedition to capture that post. In the month of July, 1814, they started upon that enterprise, and without accident reached the island. The fleet, however, having reconnoitred the coast without attempting an attack, set sail in a few days for the Island of St. Joseph. At that point they destroyed several

minor posts, and also a British fur establishment. This being accomplished, they returned to the Island of Mackinaw. The British commandant had occupied the intermediate time in strengthening his works and calling in aid from the adjacent country ; and he succeeded in collected as his associates a considerable body of savages from the surrounding tribes. It was proposed by Col. Croghan to attack the post near the village. That point was the least encumbered with the undergrowth, which furnishes a cover for the savage mode of warfare, and the banks were accessible. That proposition was objected to by Sinclair, on the ground that his fleet would then be subject to the fire of the fort. It was finally determined to land on the north-eastern side of the island, and the fleet was placed in the right position for that object. The landing was effected without difficulty, but the troops of Col. Croghan were obliged to traverse nearly the whole breadth of the island in order to reach the fort. The Americans were permitted to advance nearly to the centre, when they arrived at one of the clearings. They were immediately attacked by the Indians who were posted in the surrounding thickets. A firing commenced of an irregular character from the opening, which, however, did great execution. Major Holmes, an accomplished and gallant officer, was ordered to charge upon the savages in the thicket, and while in the act of performing this order with great energy, he fell by a rifle ball from the Indians. The Americans retreated upon the main body, and were obliged to return to their boats. Thus failed the enterprise, and the British held Michillimackinac until the peace.

The war of 1812, subsequent to the victory of Commodore Perry, raged more at the East beyond the bounds of Michigan, and by consequence it had but little intimate connexion with its social condition. In 1814, it languished only to be renewed with double vigor. The policy of the British cabinet was, doubtless, twofold in its operation ; first, to protect the provinces of Canada, and so much of the adjoining territory as was necessary to its defence ; and secondly, to invade the sea-coast, and induce the northern States to join

their cause. For that object, fourteen thousand men, who had fought under the Duke of Wellington, were embarked from Bordeaux for Canada, and a powerful naval force was despatched for the purpose of attacking the Atlantic frontier, to ravage the coasts and to maintain rigid blockades. The war, however, which had cost both governments so great an amount of blood and treasure, was soon brought to a peaceful termination. On the 17th of February, 1815, a special commissioner arrived with a treaty of peace, which had been concluded at Ghent. That treaty, which was legally confirmed, established that the boundaries between the territories of the United States and Great Britain should be revised, and that all the places which had been taken by the English during the war should be restored. Although America had failed, as the armed neutrality had before done, to compel Great Britain to renounce the arrogant claims which she had made during the commencement of the war, the causes of the war had ceased to operate. American seamen were no longer impressed, and the orders in council were repealed. Thus was peace declared. The reflections which naturally spring from that last war between the United States and a civilized power, is the immense magnitude of the sacrifices which have secured the independence of the country.

CHAPTER XII.

Col. Cass appointed Governor of Michigan—Condition of Michigan at that time—Public lands brought into market—Population in 1820—Exploring Expedition of the Lakes—Modifications of the Territorial Government—The New-York and Erie Canal—Mr. Porter appointed Governor—Controversy with Ohio—Mr. Mason elected Governor—State of Michigan erected.

IN October, 1813, Col. Lewis Cass, who had served with approbation during the war, and also as military commandant, was appointed Governor of the territory of Michigan. During that disastrous period the country had sunk under the devastations of the British, aided by their numerous hordes of Indian allies on the Lakes, who had been encouraged to depredate upon the property of its citizens. Morals were corrupted, laws were disorganized; and the families who had fled from the country, found, when they returned, their domestic establishments a scene of ruins. The territory was, in fact, left at one time in such a defenceless state subsequent to Hull's capitulation, that only one company of regulars, comprising twenty-one men and the local militia, were obliged to protect the country against the hostile Indians who hovered around Detroit. Little inducement had been held out for emigration from the east, because the lands were not surveyed and brought into market; roads had not been constructed through the interior; access to the territory by land was only afforded through the Black Swamp and along the Detroit River; a military work, constructed by the general Government, almost impassable, and strewn with broken gun carriages, and the skeletons of oxen which had been employed in dragging the munitions of war and army stores in Harrison's campaign. French Town and Detroit, the two principal settlements on the peninsula, had been nearly demolished. The operations of Governor Cass were, therefore, first directed to the rebuilding the interests of the State, or-

ganizing a system of local policy, and forming amicable relations with the Indian tribes.

Since the erection of the territory in 1805, when Detroit was established as the seat of Government, the frame of its legislation was that prescribed by the ordinance of 1787; but in 1819, on the 16th of February, an act of Congress provided for the election of a delegate to the Congress of the United States, and extended the right of suffrage to the citizens of the territory. This right of suffrage was limited to every free white male inhabitant over twenty-one years, who had resided within its bounds one year preceding its election, and who had paid a county or territorial tax. As early as 1807 Governor Hull had made a treaty at Detroit with the Ottawa, Pottawattamic, Chippewa, and Wyandot tribes; and it ceded a wide belt of land on the eastern frontier, extending from the mouth of the Au Glaize to Lake Huron; and in 1819 a treaty was also made at Saginaw, which ceded a considerable portion of land, extending from a point nearly west from Detroit, in a line now known as the principal meridian, thence west sixty miles, thence to the head of Thunder Bay River, and along the bank of that river to Lake Huron. The interior of the country was as yet unsettled, because no motives were furnished for emigration, inasmuch as no solid title could be acquired to the land. One fact may be mentioned as evidence of the ignorance which at that time prevailed in regard to the actual quality of the land. By an act of Congress, passed on the 6th of May, 1812, two millions of acres were ordered to be surveyed in Michigan for the soldiers during the war of 1812; and commissioners were sent into this country for that object; but in consequence of their representations, which went to show that the land was low, sterile, and filled with swamps, the act was repealed, and the survey was directed to be made of the same quantity in Arkansas and Illinois. The population of the State continued to be chiefly French, together with Americans, who were engaged in the little commerce which was then carried on in the country; while the energy of the people was directed in a great measure to the fur trade.

In 1818 a portion of the public lands of Michigan, which had been surveyed during the two preceding years, was brought into market; and this produced a new epoch in its progress. Inciting emigration and settlement by the price affixed, and the easy terms of payment, which was then based on the credit system, it soon brought into the country a large increase to the population. In 1820 this population had grown to 8,896. The fact of the representations of the surveyors who had been appointed to survey the bounty lands in this territory for the soldiers in the war of 1812, was doubtless a fortunate circumstance for the country, as it would have subtracted that immense domain from the purchases of actual residents, who, by their individual exertion, would have developed the resources of the soil. But few public works had been constructed in western New-York, and a great portion of that country was as yet a wilderness. The sparse inhabitants who then resided in the country, were principally confined to the lake shores, with the exception of the few French habitans who had planted themselves on the banks of the more important streams. No vigorous system of public improvement was effected, because the population was small and scattered; and the position of the territory then on the edge of civilization was cut off from the means and motives of commerce.

Detroit, French Town, Mackinaw, and the Sault de St. Marie, in 1820, were the principal settlements in the present organized limits of Michigan. At that period Detroit consisted of about two hundred and fifty buildings, and contained a population of fourteen hundred and fifteen inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison; and was then a point of considerable activity and business. The Island of Mackinaw, which was at that time a central mart of the fur trade, had a population of four hundred and fifty, which was augmented to two thousand at certain intervals by the accession of voyageurs, Indians, and traders, on their return from their hunting and trading expeditions in the forests upon the Upper Lakes. These were accommodated, for the most part, in one hundred and fifty houses, which comprised the village. Fort Michili-

mackinac stood on a eminence above the town, and Fort Holmes was located on the highest point of the island. This was afterwards called Fort George. Sault de St. Marie contained a village of fifteen or twenty buildings, which were then occupied by five or six French and English families, and was then, as in previous times, a prominent point of the the Indian trade. It would seem that the principal ground of mercantile enterprise at that period was the fact, that a large amount of public money was here distributed in maintaining the garrisons connected with the public defence, which were then established at Detroit, Fort Gratiot, and Mackinaw.

The Walk-in-the-Water was the only steamboat which plied on the lakes, and this was deemed sufficient to transact the commercial business of the territory. This boat was named after the Wyandot chief, and in the summer of 1819 she made her first visit to the Island of Mackinaw.

During the year 1820 an important expedition was effected in the exploration of the country, whose actual resources were then but little known. On the preceding year Governor Cass had projected an enterprise for the purpose of obtaining a more precise knowledge of the resources of the territory around the north-western lakes; its design was to examine the soil, the number, condition, character, and institutions of the Indian tribes; to investigate the mineralogical resources of the country, especially the copper mines along Lake Superior, and to collect the materials for a map; to select the site for a garrison at the foot of Lake Superior, and also to perfect treaties with the Indian tribes. For that object a memorial was forwarded to the Secretary of War, Mr. Calhoun, which was favorably received, and the expedition was encouraged. For this purpose an escort of soldiers was also provided; the commandants of the garrisons along the lakes were ordered to facilitate its progress; and a mineralogist, topographical engineer, and a physician, were appointed to carry out the work. The section of the republic along the north-western waters was then but little known, except by the gorgeous descriptions of the Indian traders and Jesuits,

who mixed up their accounts with superstitious traditions, and the glowing spirit of poetry which belonged to their education and their church. On the 24th of May, 1820, the expedition under Governor Cass started in bark canoes, manned by Canadian voyageurs and Indians, and adventured into the inland seas of the north-west.

The objects of the expedition were fulfilled. They coursed along a track which, although as yet a wilderness, where the forests in an almost unbroken expanse met the waters of the lakes, had, nevertheless, been made classic ground by the institutions and wars of savages, and the migrations of the early traders, soldiers, and missionaries of the French government. The disaffection of the Indians on the Upper Lakes toward the United States continued to exist in a great degree, and their attachment to the English was fully shown in the expedition of Governor Cass. By the treaty of Greenville, made in 1795, the United States were entitled to all land in the north-west territory which had been granted by the Indians to the French and English governments; and on that ground the American Government claimed the concession which had formerly been made to the French at the Sault de St. Marie, through which it had been occupied as a military post. A council was accordingly held by the expedition, for the purpose of settling the bounds of this grant. The object of the council was distinctly stated by the interpreter. The savages were opposed to the proposition which was made by Governor Cass, and endeavored to evade it by denying their knowledge of the original grant; and when the fact was pressed upon their conviction, they exhibited great dissatisfaction, and gave a qualified refusal. Some of the chiefs were in favor of establishing the boundary, provided it should not be occupied as a garrison; alleging, at the same time, that their young men might prove unruly, and kill the cattle which should stray from the post. This was intended and understood as a threat. Governor Cass, in an answer remarked, that as to the establishment of a garrison at the Sault, he would spare them all trouble; for, so sure as the rising sun should set in the west, there would be an American garrison

established at that place, whatever might be their decision. This council was composed of chiefs dressed in costly broadcloths, epaulets, medals, silver ornaments, and feathers of British manufacture; by which it was understood that English agency was influencing their deliberations. It was then employed several hours in animated discussion; and the last chief who spoke, a brigadier in the British service, drew his war lance and stuck it furiously in the ground; and when he left the *marqué*, where it had been held, he kicked away the presents which had been placed before him, and the council was soon dispersed in that spirit. In a few moments the British flag was erected in the midst of the Indian encampment. Governor Cass immediately ordered the expedition under arms, and proceeded, with an interpreter, to the lodge of the chief who had raised it, and took down the insulting flag; telling the Indian—the same who had manifested such rage in the council—that it was an indignity which they were not permitted to offer to the American soil; that we were their guardians and friends, but that the flag was the emblem of national power; that two standards could not float over the same land; that they were forbidden to raise any but our own; and if they should presume again to attempt it, “the United States would set a strong foot upon their necks, and crush them to the earth.” The intrepidity of the Governor produced a powerful effect.

In ten minutes after the return of Governor Cass to the American encampment, the Indian lodges were cleared of every woman and child, and the river was covered with Indian canoes. The expedition of the Americans was comprised of about sixty-six men, thirty of whom were United States soldiers; and the savages could muster seventy or eighty well-armed warriors. The Indians occupied an eminence upon the site of the old French fort, while the American encampment was stationed upon the banks of the river. The two parties were separated only by a small ravine, and by a distance of only five or six hundred yards. Some time having elapsed, in which the Indians exhibited no marks of hostile intention, the soldiers were dismissed to their tents. An

overture was soon after made by a few of the older chiefs, who had not been present at the former council ; and at seven o'clock in the evening a treaty was concluded, in which they ceded to the United States a tract of land, four miles square, commencing at the Sault, and extending two miles up and the same distance down the river, with a depth of four miles including the portage, and the site of the old fort, and the village ; reserving to themselves the right of fishing at the falls and of encamping upon the shores. The calumet having been smoked, and the shaking of hands having been concluded, the signatures of the Indians were obtained to the treaty, for which they were paid on the spot in blankets, knives, broad cloths, and silver wares.*

At that period the interior of Michigan was a mere ranging ground for savages and wild beasts, intersected by Indian trails, which wound through the oak lands, and studded at wide distances along the banks of the lakes or streams by a hut of a Frenchman or the solitary post of a fur trader. The extensive tract of forest bordering the upper lakes, was devoted to the interests of the North-West and American fur companies ; and the Island of Mackinaw was enlivened by barges of the voyageurs and the canoes of the Indians laden with furs for the trading establishments at those points. The Indian trade at that time was prosecuted on the upper lakes chiefly by the American Fur Company, conducted in that quarter by Messrs. Stuart and Crooks, its agents. This company had extensive establishments on the Island of Mackinaw, and also on the St. Louis River and other streams running into Lake Superior, which had before been occupied by the North-West Company.

In 1818, when Illinois was erected into a State, the limits of Michigan had been extended by the annexation to the territory of all the land lying north of that State and Indiana. A partial extinction of the Indian title had been effected in the year 1785, by a treaty held at Fort Mackintosh

* For an account of this transaction, see a narrative of the Expedition under Governor Cass, by Henry R. Schoolcraft, a member of the expedition.

with the Wyandot, Ottawa, Delaware, and Chippewa tribes, by which a tract of land, six miles broad, from the strait extending from the River Raisin to Lake St. Clair, and also twelve miles square at Michilimackinac, were ceded. This treaty was confirmed at Fort Harmar in 1787; and in the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, the cession of the belt of land embracing Detroit was confirmed, and twelve miles square at the Miami Rapids, and the Islands of Mackinaw and Bois Blanc were ceded to the United States. In 1804 a land office had been established at Detroit, but its object was to settle the land titles of the territory, because no lands were then brought into market. Many of the early settlers, who had derived their claims from the French and English commandants of the posts, or who had settled on the land without authority, were anxious to have a solid title to the land which they claimed by occupancy. Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, had made grants of land, which were confirmed by the king of France; and the Governor and intendant of New France and Louisiana, in 1735 and 1737, had also made similar grants, which were also confirmed. Numerous grants had also been made without authority, by Bellestre and other French commandants of Detroit, and enlargements of original grants. Other posts on the upper lakes, which had never been confirmed, and similar claims, were based on alleged grants of English commandants when they obtained possession of the country. But few of these grants were held by legal titles. It became an important object, therefore, to establish these claims by act of Congress, so that the old settlers might be secure and quiet in their possessions. In order to accomplish that object, an Act of Congress was passed, in 1807, confirming to settlers the lands which they had occupied continuously from the year 1796 to the date of the act; and subsequent acts embracing the settlements on the upper lakes, established the claims of these old settlers. Besides the cessions of land which had been made under the administration of Governor Hull, a treaty was held in 1821 at Chicago, with the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatamie tribes, in which a tract lying west of the cession of 1807 and 1819, and reaching from the

southern boundary to the Grand River, and its most northerly source, was secured to the United States. These cessions of land from the Indians, which were required to be made before a full and complete title could be acquired by the United States, were honorable to the American Government. Whatever may be the abstract right, founded on the purposes of nature, of civilized nations to wrest from barbarians the soil which is not employed in agriculture, it is clear that the Government of the United States had a right to the land by conquest. They had a just claim by conquest from the English, and subsequently from the Indians in Wayne's war and the war of 1812; while they only claimed the right of pre-emption when the Indians should see fit to sell their lands.

In 1823 the territory of Michigan was invested with a more energetic and compact government, by an act of Congress providing for the establishment of a Legislative Council, which was to consist of nine members. These members were to be appointed by the President of the United States, with the consent of the Senate, out of eighteen candidates elected by the people of the territory; and, with the Governor, they were invested with the same powers which had been before granted by the ordinance of 1787 to the Governor, Legislative Council, and House of Representatives of the north-western territory. By that act, the legislative power of the Governor and Judges was taken away, the term of judicial office was limited to four years, and eligibility to office required the same qualifications as the right of suffrage. On the 7th of June, 1824, the first Legislative Council of Michigan was held at the council-house in the city of Detroit. Governor Cass at that time delivered his message, in which he briefly reviewed the progress of the territory, and marked out what he considered the proper line of its policy as well as its existing condition. In reference to the devastations under the war of 1812, he remarks, "The whole population was prostrated at the feet of relentless savages; and with such atrocious circumstances as have no parallel in the annals of modern warfare, menaces, personal violence, imprisonment, and depopulation, were indiscriminately used, as either ap-

peared best calculated to effect the object, which avowedly was to sever our citizens from the allegiance they owed to their country. Fortunately their patriotism and energy resisted these efforts, and probably in no portion of the Union was more devotedness to the general cause manifested than here.”*

At that period the few roads which had been constructed through the wilderness along the sparse settlements were in a miserable condition ; and the Governor called the attention of the council to that subject, as well as to the organization of a solid and effective system of jurisprudence. As the clouds of war had cleared away, and the public lands were in market, additional motives were presented for settlement, and emigration began to flow into the country. The log-houses of hardy pioneers studded the wilderness, and the forests resounded with the echo of the woodman's axe. As the population became thus scattered, it was found necessary to devise a system of Township Government, by which the local affairs of the different sections might be regulated by its own local police. In 1825 an Act of Congress was passed, probably in accordance with the recommendation of the Governor, providing that the Governor and Council of the territory of Michigan should have the right to divide the territory into townships, to incorporate the same, to define their privileges, and to provide by law for the election of their officers, and repealing all laws inconsistent with this Act which had been embodied in the ordinance of 1787, or in the laws of the United States. The same Act also granted to the Governor the power, with the consent of the Legislative Council, to appoint the civil officers of the territory ; and the number of the Legislative Council was increased to thirteen. During the first session of the Legislative Council great efforts were also made for the establishment of roads through the territory by the General Government, and a memorial for that object was drafted, in order to call the attention of Congress to this subject.

The progress of Michigan during the remaining portion of

* Gov. Cass's message to the first Legislative Council in 1824.

the administration of Governor Cass, abounds with no sudden crisis and startling facts which belong to great emergencies, and which marked the whole period of its growth.

The cannon and the bayonet had now given place to the axe, the plane, and the plough ; and these were accomplishing the victories of peace. Emigration, in its silent progress, was gradually scattering its settlers over the forest. By examination it was found that the report which had been made by Gen. Brown, who had been appointed to examine the quality of the land in this region, was entirely inaccurate, as his judgment had been formed without due investigation and upon narrow premises. The settlers advancing into the interior, found a fertile, dry, and undulating soil, clothed with the richest scenery, intersected by clear and rapid streams, and studded with lakes abounding with fish. These facts having spread abroad, invited the emigrant from the more barren sections of the country, which contained a more dense population, and where the avenues to wealth and distinction were mainly occupied. During the first few years after the administration of Governor Cass but a small portion of the land had been brought into market, and this was in the eastern portion of Michigan, and was included in the land district of Detroit. The system which was introduced into the territory of Michigan, of surveys, which is understood to have been recommended by Gen. Harrison, is of remarkable accuracy as well as beauty ; and it now prevails. Two straight lines were drawn through the centre of the territory, north and south, and east and west. The line north and south, was denominated the principal meridian, and the line east and west, the base line. The territory was then surveyed into townships six miles square, these were subdivided into sections a mile square, and these townships were numbered numerical order, increasing from the meridian and base lines. The mathematical certainty of this mode of survey, and the fact that each section and township were blazed or marked by the surveyors on the trees at the corner of each section, and the lines of the sections also marked by shaving off the bark of the trees, furnished clear landmarks as to the actual

boundaries of each tract. The smallest lot which can be purchased at the present time is eighty acres, or a fractional lot which is made by a township line or the course of a stream. Amid the clearings of the forest, the lonely log-hut of the pioneer curled its smoke to the heavens from the banks of the lakes and streams; and amid the stumps and felled trunks of the trees, little patches of wheat glowed in the sun like green islands amid the vast and magnificent ocean of wilderness. At that time no important settlements had been made in the interior.

The increasing settlements of Michigan soon called for the construction of public works which might facilitate the emigration into its different sections, and also lay open to public view the resources of the soil. As early as the 12th of May, 1820, a report had been made to Congress in reference to the construction of a road across the Black Swamp;* and extraordinary efforts were also made to secure the aid of the General Government in advancing these works of internal improvement. These calls were liberally responded to on the part of the General Government. An appropriation was made for the opening a road between Detroit and the Miami, and it was expended on that work with great advantage. Bills also passed Congress, providing for the construction of a road from Detroit to Chicago, and also a road from Detroit to Fort Gratiot, as well as the improvement of La Plaisance Bay. Liberal grants of land were also made for the objects of education; and as early as 1804,† a township of land was granted by Congress for the support of a college. Section number sixteen in each township was also granted for the support of common schools; and in 1826 an additional grant had been made for the support of a seminary of learning, which now amounted to two townships; and authority at the same time was given to make these locations in small tracts.

The grand roads which were thus projected, tended to furnish important avenues to the different points of Michigan at

* By Hon. William Woodbridge.

† In 1817 a law was passed by the Governor and Judges, providing for the establishment of the *Cathole pestemial*, or *University of Michigan*

which they terminated. These roads, says Governor Cass, commencing at Detroit, the great depot of the country, passing through the most important parts of the peninsula, and terminating at the borders of the great lakes which almost encircle it, are essential to the security and prosperity of the country. There was, however, but little interest manifested on the part of the General Government in providing a solid defence to the Michigan frontier when this would seem to have been most required. In reference to the military works about Detroit, Gov. Cass remarked: "The fort at Detroit is in a dilapidated state. No repairs have been made on it since 1812, and it is, in fact, incapable of defence. The platform could not bear the discharge of an eighteen-pound gun, nor is there a single piece of artillery mounted upon the works. The pickets and abattis are rotten, and the gates unhung. It is in a far worse condition than it was at the commencement of the late war. The military works at Fort Wayne, Fort Gratiot, Sault de St. Marie, at Green Bay and Mackinaw, were in but little better condition. During the year 1825 Detroit progressed as rapidly as could be expected under the existing circumstances. Fifty-eight new buildings were constructed during that year; twenty-two of which were two stories in height, seventeen were one and a half, and nineteen were of one story.

In 1827 the right of electing the members of the Legislative Council was granted to the electors of the territory, and the representation was ordered to be apportioned among the several districts or counties according to their population; and in 1828 an Act was passed, confirming certain claims to land in Michigan; and another Act, authorizing the Governor and Council to take charge of those lands which had been granted for the support of common schools.

The construction of that gigantic work, the Erie Canal, first suggested by Gouverneur Morris in 1777, a glorious monument of the patriotism and genius of Dewitt Clinton, which was commenced in 1817 and opened to Buffalo during the year 1825, unfolded a new avenue to the prosperity of Michigan. Itself a wilderness, and bounded on the east by a great lake, which was skirted by a wilderness, removed by this lake

from the more densely settled States, the territory was obliged to grapple with the obstacles springing from its remote position, and the want of convenient modes of transportation of articles of large bulk over the land between Albany and Lake Erie. The establishment of this work, connected with the river and lake navigation to New-York, brought the trade of the great commercial metropolis of the Union to its own doors, and from that period it sprung forward with powerful strides. Emigrants could now be provided with cheap and easy transportation for themselves and their merchandise, and this line of communication continued to be crowded with settlers who broke up their establishments in the less generous soil of the east, and were advancing to plant themselves in the land of promise on the lakes. No events of an extraordinary character marked the progress of the country. With clear skies, a bountiful soil, and a sparse population, the means of subsistence were ample. As population advanced, the resources of the country were gradually developed. The increased extent of the sales of public domain had induced thousands from the eastern States to leave their sterile lands, and to emigrate to her fertile plains; and with the increasing facilities for travel through western New-York and across the mountains, came the increase of emigration. Although small settlements had been made in the interior, the important points which now constitute the flourishing villages of Ann Arbor, Ypselanti, Tecumseh, Adrien, Clinton, Marshall, and St. Joseph, had not then been founded. Farms had been established at the three first-named points, but they were there located with the same prospects, and for the same objects, as those on the other streams of the peninsula. But the prospect soon broadened and brightened. A mighty enterprise was at work under the action of free and equal laws, and it scattered its influence through the forests of Michigan; and the Indian, as he ceded his domain to the General Government, retired farther and farther into the wilderness, and his bark wigwam gave place to the log-hut of the settler. The echo of the settler's axe started the wolf from his den, and he soon followed in the track of the savages. The inland seas, which for centuries

had mirrored little but the setting sun upon their surface, unbroken, except by the Indian, the missionary, or the trader, or dashed their surges in solitary grandeur along the shores, were now studded with ships and steamboats, and all the machinery of commerce ; and as it passed on, the canoe of the Indian shot into the retired bays which border its banks. It is to the Erie Canal that the first rapid advance of Michigan can be traced, and it is upon internal improvement furnishing the means and motives for transportation that its future growth must depend. This, as well as the other western States, owe, in fact, their unexampled growth more to mechanical philosophy acting on internal improvement, than to any other cause. What stupendous consequences does American mechanical philosophy, the characterizing feature of the present age, exhibit throughout the country ? The rail-road, the canal, the steamboat, the thousand modes and powers by which machinery is propelled, how vastly has it augmented the sum of human strength and human happiness. What glorious prospects does it open before us ! It has bound together the wealth of the north and the south, the east and the west, the ocean and the lakes, as a sheaf of wheat ; and urged forward the progress of improvement in mighty strides. Pouring its millions into the wilderness, it has sent forth, not serfs, but hardy, practical, enterprising men, the founders of empires, who have finished the work of erecting States before the wolf and the panther had fled from their dens. Be-striding the lakes and the streams which discharge their waters through the Mississippi, it has studded them with nearly seven hundred floating palaces, to conquer winds, waves, and tides.* In a single day it lives almost a century. It has built short and certain paths along the Atlantic, which has abridged the distance at least two-thirds ; and the English flag, which floated in the docks of Bristol and Liverpool, are, fourteen days after, seen waving in our ports, above a foreign crew and foreign merchandise. More powerful than Xerxes when he threw manacles into the Hellespont, it has chained the

* There are at present about six hundred steamboats on the waters of the Mississippi.

current of rivers by the dam, the mill-race, and the water-wheel ; and made them its slave ! It has almost nullified space, by enabling us to rush across its surface like the wind ; and prolonged time, by the speed with which we can accomplish our ends. It can do the work of innumerable armies and navies in war and in peace. It has constructed rail-roads across the mountains ; and in the sublime language of another, the "backs of the Alleghanies have bowed down like camels."

As early as 1821 a treaty was perfected at Chicago through the agency of Governor Cass, by which all the country within the boundaries of Michigan, south of Grand River, which had not before been ceded, was granted to the United States. In 1823 Governor Cass also concluded a treaty with the Delaware Indians, which resulted in the cession of valuable tracts of land on the Muskingum in Ohio ; and, two years afterwards, in conjunction with Gen. Clark, he concluded a treaty of general pacification with the north-western savages at Prairie du Chien. Besides these several treaties, there was also one treaty perfected at Green Bay, and another at St. Joseph, in the year 1827. During the following year another treaty was also held at Greenville, and another at St. Joseph, and a valuable cession was also made for Indiana.

One important advantage derived from the expedition upon the north-western lakes under Governor Cass, in 1820, was the fact, that the boundaries between the Indian tribes on their waters, which had been long the source of great contention, were defined and established. The tomahawk, which is the last reason of savages, as is the sword of civilized nations, had been lifted up ; and these tribes had been long in a state of war regarding these limits. In order to adjust these disputes, facts were collected from tradition and evidence, and the assent of the Indians was acquired to certain well-known geographical bounds. By this adjustment much bloodshed was prevented, and also further disputes upon the same grounds. From State documents, which were submitted to Congress on the 27th of January, 1825, it appears that there were then twenty-eight thousand three hundred and sixteen Indians, exclusive of the Chippewas, upon Lake Superior and the heads of the Mississippi.

During the year 1825, a memorial was submitted by Governor Cass to the Committee on military affairs, to whom had been referred a resolution making inquiry what further measures were necessary to be adopted for the protection of the north-western frontier. This memorial was designed to set forth the actual position of the territory of Michigan at that time, and to invoke aid from the General Government for its defence. Its proximity to a long line of British coast, and the unstable character of the Indians, which made them liable at any moment to break out into open war, made an augmented defence necessary for its protection.

Besides the roads which were encouraged by the General Government, from Detroit to the Maumee, Saginaw, to Fort Gratiot, to Chicago; another road was also projected by the United States from La Plaisance Bay to intersect the Detroit and Chicago road, and also from Detroit to the mouth of the Grand River; and appropriations for that object were passed in 1832. Provision was also made, in 1831, for the erection of light-houses at the head of Lake Erie, on Bois Blanc Island near Mackinaw, at Fort Gratiot at the entrance of Lake Huron, at St. Joseph River, Lake Michigan, on outer Thunder Bay Island in Lake Huron; and also for the establishment of a light-boat in the straits between Lakes Huron and Michigan; and also buoys on the flats of Lake St. Clair.

The principal settlement was as yet confined to the eastern portion of the peninsula of Michigan, and the interior was an almost unbroken wilderness. By consequence, counties were organised only so far as the advance of settlements established the necessity of a direct representation and a frame of local policy. As early as 1826 the counties of Michillimackinac, Saginaw, La Peer Shiawassu, St. Clair, Macomb, Oakland, Washtenaw, Wayne, Lenawee, and Monroe, were erected; and township governments were organised within their bounds; while an immense extent of country west of the principal meridian, extending to Lake Michigan, which had not been surveyed, and which was then but sparsely settled, was subject to the counties of Monroe and Oakland. In 1830 the population of Michigan had grown to 31,639. By

this it appeared that there had been an accession to its population of more than twenty-two thousand since the census of 1820.

The whole administration of Gov. Cass was occupied in strengthening the foundations of the prosperity of Michigan, and increasing the wealth of the United States by perfecting treaties with the Indian tribes, developing the resources, defining and establishing the legislation of the territory. In 1831 Governor Cass, after having occupied it eighteen years, resigned the gubernatorial chair of Michigan, and took his seat as Secretary of War in the cabinet of the United States. He found the country weak from the devastations of war, and left it strong. He had given general satisfaction to the people, in effecting substantial improvements for the benefit of the State. Although endowed with few of the brilliant qualities of an orator, he possessed a solid and discriminating judgment. Discreet, sagacious, prudent, politic, he sought the best good of the territory, and made friends wherever friends were to be made. His contributions to the leading literary journals of the country, as well as to historical societies, in illustration of Indian history and institutions, had established his taste and learning; his collisions with the British and the Indian tribes had maintained his reputation as a soldier; and his beneficent administration of the government of Michigan for eighteen years, had marked his character with the broad impression of a statesman. It can be affirmed safely, that the present prosperity of Michigan is now more indebted to Governor Cass than to any other man, living or dead. During this year the population of the territory had grown to about thirty-five thousand, according to a fair estimate.

Governor Cass was succeeded during the same year by Mr. George B. Porter, a lawyer of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He was appointed by General Jackson; and, although possessing little brilliance of talent, he was universally acknowledged to be an active and thorough man of business. The administration of Governor Porter was marked by no extraordinary vicissitude affecting the

condition of Michigan, excepting the erection of Wisconsin, which had formerly been annexed to Michigan, and the expedition against Black Hawk. The treaty of Chicago, in which the chief magistrate had an agency, terminated in a large cession of the Indian lands to the United States. During the administration of Governor Porter, the emigration to the territory was very much increased. The commerce of Lake Erie rapidly augmented with the increase of emigration. Appropriations had been made for public works along its shores, and also within the then territory of Michigan. Speculation began to move into this region, and large companies were formed at the east, which had for their object the purchase of extensive tracts of the public domain. Besides the increase of a non-resident proprietorship, vast masses of actual settlers came out in order to improve the land. As the resources of the country became known, the most eligible tracts for the establishment of towns were sought out by the lynx-eyed capitalist, and villages sprung up as if by magic on the banks of the streams which afforded any degree of hydraulic or commercial advantages. Michigan now looked forward to the period when she could apply for admission as a State into the Union, which could happen when she had a population of sixty thousand. A census was taken, and in April of 1834, it was found that this population had grown to eighty-seven thousand two hundred and seventy-three.

The gubernatorial chair of Michigan was again left vacant by the death of George B. Porter. Here commenced the interregnum state of its administration, when it was vacillating between a State and territorial government; when it was without a common head, a territorial system of laws, and a constitution of government made by itself professing to be a State, but not a member of the Union.

During that period, and while Michigan was yet without a chief magistrate, the controversy which had formerly agitated the territory regarding its southern boundary line, was again revived. This controversy was of long standing, and had been made the subject of ardent discussion from the commencement of the administration of Governor Cass. It grew out of a

clause in the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the north-western territory. In the fifth article of that ordinance, it was established that there should be formed, in the north-western territory, not less than three nor more than five States. "Provided, however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three States (Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois,) shall be subject so far to be altered, that if Congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two States in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan; and whenever any of the said States shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted by its delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever, and be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and State government."

In the Act of Congress to divide the Indiana territory into two separate governments, which was approved January 11, 1805, it was established that "from and after the 30th day of June next, all that part of the Indian territory which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan until it shall intersect Lake Erie, and east of a line drawn from the said southerly bend through the middle of said lake to its northern extremity, and thence due north to the northern boundary of the United States shall, for the purposes of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called Michigan."

An act, which passed the Congress of the United States on April 30th, 1802, to enable the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the north-western territory (Ohio) to form a constitution and State government, it was provided "that the boundaries of the future State (of Ohio) shall be on the east by the Pennsylvania line, on the south by the Ohio River to the mouth of the Great Miami River, on the west by the line drawn due north from the mouth of the great Miami aforesaid, and on the north by an east and west line drawn through the southern extreme of Lake Michigan, running east after

intersecting the due north line aforesaid, from the mouth of the great Miami, until it shall intersect Lake Erie on the territorial line, and thence with the same through Lake Erie to the Pennsylvania line aforesaid."

The sixth article of the Constitution of Ohio, which was organized in 1802, and confirmed by the General Government, ordains as follows: "Provided always, and it is hereby fully understood and declared by this convention, that if the southern bend or extreme of Lake Michigan should extend so far south that a line drawn due east from it should not intersect Lake Erie, or if it should intersect the said Lake Erie east of the mouth of the Miami River of the lake, then, and in that case, with the assent of the Congress of the United States, the northern boundary of this State shall be established by and extended to a direct line running from the southerly extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly Cape of Miami Bay; after intersecting the due north line from the mouth of the Great Miami, thence north-east to the territorial line, and by the said territorial line to the Pennsylvania line."

These several national and State enactments were made the basis of a clashing claim between Ohio and Michigan. The disputed tract was a belt of land about fifteen miles wide. From the fact, that this tract of land contained the outlet of the Miami River, was itself a fertile soil, and the key to a wide and rich back country, and also a prescribed terminus for the Erie and Wabash Canal, a work of gigantic enterprise and brilliant promise, its acquisition was deemed an object of great importance. To substantiate her claims, it was contended, on the part of Michigan, that the ordinance of 1787 was a solemn compact between the United States and the people who should be comprised in the north-western territory, unalterable except by common consent; and that this compact established the southern boundary line of Michigan as a direct east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. It was also maintained on the part of Michigan, that the act of Congress of 1805, organizing the territorial government, confirmed the same line, by prescribing as her territorial domain, all that part of

the Indiana territory which lies north of a line drawn east from the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan until it shall intersect Lake Erie.

It was maintained on the side of Ohio, that the line prescribed in the ordinance of 1787 was not, in the legal and technical sense, a *boundary line* ; but a parallel and partial line introduced for the purpose of limiting the action of the States below, and confining temporarily the jurisdiction of the territory above it ; and that the right boundary was defined in the Constitution of the State of Ohio, which had been accepted by Congress, as the line running from the southerly extremity of Lake Michigan to the *most northerly cape of the Miami Bay*.

It was also claimed by Ohio, that the ordinance of 1787 was superseded by the adoption of the constitution of the United States ; and they maintained that argument by the following clause in that instrument : " Congress shall have the power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories or other property belonging to the United States." On the other side, it was alleged that this clause of the constitution referred to the public lands ; but if it did not, the argument was fully answered in another clause of the same instrument, establishing that all debts contracted and *engagements entered into*, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

Here then arose a clashing of jurisdiction. It was determined by the people of Ohio to have the northern boundary line claimed by that State re-marked by the surveyors. Michigan, about the same period, passed a counter-act, prohibiting any aggression by another State upon her domain. In consequence of that act, the surveying expedition of Ohio, while in the performance of their duties, were attacked and driven off by a military *posse comitatus*. Subsequent to that period, the militia of Michigan were drafted to enforce her laws upon the Ohio frontier, and actually marched on to the disputed ground with Mr. Stevens T. Mason, the then Secretary and acting Governor of the territory, at their head ; but finding no

enemy, they were soon disbanded. On this juncture, the President of the United States, foreseeing disturbances, appointed two Commissioners, Mr. Richard Rush of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Benjamin C. Howard of Maryland, to repair to the disputed territory, and to settle, if possible, the difference between the parties. By their agency a compromise was effected, through which the people on the disputed territory might acknowledge, at their option, the jurisdiction of Ohio or Michigan, until the matter could be satisfactorily determined by the proper authority. This arrangement, however, was attended with no permanent advantages, as the dissensions were soon renewed.

In the meantime Michigan, under the clause in the ordinance of 1787, empowering the territory to form a permanent Constitution and State Government when she should attain a population of sixty thousand, had, on May 11, 1835, called a convention in the city of Detroit for that object. The Constitution was framed, and sent for acceptance to Congress. Under the State organization, Stevens T. Mason of Kentucky, who had been secretary under Governor Porter, was elected Governor by the people. Michigan then applied for admission into the Union on her own terms, but that admission was refused on the part of the General Government. An act, however, was passed, providing for her *conditional* admission, which was in the following words: "An Act to establish the northern boundary line of the State of Ohio, and to provide for the admission of the State of Michigan to the Union upon the conditions therein expressed." "Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the northern boundary line of the State of Ohio shall be established at, and shall be a direct line, drawn from the southern extremity of Lake Michigan to the most northerly Cape of the Maumee Bay; after that line so drawn shall intersect the eastern boundary line of the State of Indiana, and from the said north Cape of the said bay, north-east to the boundary line between the United States and the province of Upper Canada in Lake Erie; and thence with the said last-mentioned line to its inter-

section with the western line of the State of Pennsylvania. And be it further enacted, that the Constitution and State Government, which the people of Michigan have formed for themselves, be, and the same is hereby accepted, ratified, and confirmed; and that the said State of Michigan shall be, and is hereby declared to be one of the United States of America, and is hereby admitted into the Union upon an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatsoever; *provided* always, that this admission is upon the express condition that the said State shall consist of and have jurisdiction over all the territory included within the following boundaries, and over none other, to wit: Beginning at the point where the above-described northern boundary of the State of Ohio intersects the eastern boundary of the State of Indiana; and running thence with the said boundary line of Ohio as described in the section of this Act, until it intersects the boundary line between the United States and Canada in Lake Erie; thence with the said boundary line between the United States and Canada, through the Detroit River, Lake Huron, and Lake Superior, to a point where the said line last touches Lake Superior; thence in a direct line through Lake Superior to the mouth of the Montreal River; thence through the middle of the main channel of the said River Montreal to the middle of the Lake of the Desert; thence in a direct line to the nearest head-water of the Menominee River; thence through the middle of that fork of said river first touched by the said line to the main channel of the said Memoninie River; thence down the centre of the main channel of the same, to the centre of the most usual ship channel of the said Bay to the middle of Lake Michigan; thence through the middle of Lake Michigan to the northern boundary of the State of Indiana, as that line was established by the act of Congress of the 19th of April, 1816; thence due-east with the north boundary line of the said State of Indiana to the northeast corner thereof; and thence south with the east boundary line of Indiana to the place of beginning.

“ And be it further enacted, that as a compliance with the fundamental condition of admission contained in the last pre-

ceding section of this Act, the boundaries of the said State of Michigan, as in that section described, declared, and established, shall receive the assent of a convention of delegates elected by the people of said State for the sole purpose of giving the assent herein required ; as soon as the assent herein required shall be given, the President of the United States shall announce the same by proclamation, and thereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of Congress, the admission of the said State into the Union as one of the United States of America, on an equal footing with the original States, shall be considered as complete ; and the senators and representative who have been elected by the said State as its representatives in the Congress of the United States, shall be entitled to take their seats in the Senate and House of Representatives respectively, without further delay."

In September, 1836, a convention was called at Ann Arbor, for the purpose of considering the condition annexed to the admission of Michigan into the Union and it was rejected. This rejection was based on the fact that Congress had no right to annex such condition to the admission of Michigan into the Union, because her boundaries had been already defined by the ordinance of 1787, and her Constitution had been declared republican, and had been organized in conformity to the ordinance, which provided, that when she should have attained a population of sixty thousand, she should be admitted upon the floor of Congress upon an equal footing with the original States.

On this question local dissensions sprung up, and public opinion was divided. Subsequent to this convention, a new convention, comprised of delegates from the different counties, was called on the 14th day of December of the same year, and the condition was recognized. This accession was made on the ground of expediency, and to secure the benefits of union and the divisions of the surplus revenues. The question then arose, whether this second convention was empowered to accede to the terms of admission prescribed in the Act of Congress providing for the admission of the State of Michigan into the Union. The President of the

United States did not deem himself authorized to issue his proclamation on the action of this second convention, but concluded to lay the whole matter before Congress, to be adjudged. In opposition to the validity of this second convention, Mr. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and others, made the point that this convention was, in the first place, unauthorized by the Act of Congress; and, secondly, that the only legal convention authorized by that act had rejected the terms prescribed by Congress; and lastly, that the convention itself was not a fair expression of the will of the people of Michigan. Mr. Thomas H. Benton took ground in behalf of admission, and solemnly declared that he would encamp upon the floor of the Senate until Michigan was admitted as a State into the Federal Union. After a protracted discussion, the question was decided in favor of admission, and she was admitted as a State into the Federal Government. In addition, therefore, to the tract included in the peninsular portion of the territory, there is a tract of about twenty-five thousand square miles north-west of Lake Michigan appended by the terms of the late Act of Congress; so that, at the present time, the domain of the State embraces an aggregate of about sixty-five thousand square miles. Previous to this period her territorial domain had been abridged by the organization of the territory of Wisconsin in 1836. Subjoined is the Constitution of the State.

In April of 1834, it was ascertained that there were eighty-seven thousand two hundred and seventy-three free inhabitants within the then limits of Michigan. The establishment of a constitution, and the admission of Michigan as a member of the Union, constituted a marked epoch. From this period she burst forth with newness of life. Before she had been in a state of wardship and dependence; her officers were appointed, and her policy controlled, by the Federal Government, a power which could not appreciate all her local wants. Hercules had sprung from the cradle. A system of measures was now adopted to effect a vigorous and extensive system of internal improvements throughout the State. From her great local advantages she had already become an important

mart for eastern capital ; and the rapid increase of population called upon the State to effectuate substantial and thorough benefits, both for the improvement of their moral and physical condition, and to develop the resources of the country. Within the last few years, it is probable that no section of the United States has advanced more rapidly than the State of Michigan, and it seems to be a matter of great importance to proportion the public works to the growing wants of the State. The villages, which had sprung up in its different sections, and the settlements which had been scattered over the whole peninsula, seemed to call upon the State itself to carry forward these works. Besides remodelling its laws, it was made an important feature of state policy to project certain important works across the peninsula.* In order to prosecute these projects the Governor was authorised to effect a loan not exceeding five millions of dollars, on which the credit of the State was to be pledged. The Board of Commissioners of Internal Improvements were authorised to cause surveys to be made of three railroad routes across the peninsula of Michigan. The first of these routes was to commence at Detroit in the county of Wayne, and to terminate at the mouth of the St. Joseph River in the county of Berrien ; this was to be called the Central railroad. The second was to commence at the navigable waters of the River Raisin, pass through the village of Monroe in the county of Monroe, and to terminate at New Buffalo in Berrien county. This is denominated the Southern railroad. The third is to commence at Palmer near the mouth of the Black River, in the county of St. Clair, and to terminate at the navigable waters of the Grand River in the county of Kent, or on Lake Michigan in the county of Ottawa. This last is denominated the Northern railroad. For the construction of these three works, the sum of five hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been appropriated by the legislature. The sum of twenty thousand dollars has

* Four States have thus been carved out of the North-western Territory, Wisconsin remains to be created. The Constitution of Ohio was organized in 1802, Indiana in 1816, Illinois in 1818, Michigan in 1835.

also been appropriated for the survey of a canal, or a canal and railroad, commencing at Mt. Clement on the Clinton River, and to terminate at or near the mouth of the Kalamazoo River; for the survey of a canal to unite the waters of the Saginaw with the navigable waters of the Maple or Grand Rivers; and for the purchase of surveyors' and other instruments; and also for the survey of the St. Joseph, Kalamazoo, and Grand Rivers, for the purpose of improving the navigation. Forty thousand dollars were also appropriated for the construction of a canal, or a canal and railroad on the route from Mt. Clemens to Kalamazoo, if such a work was deemed necessary. Fifteen thousand dollars was also appropriated for the construction of a canal which should unite the waters of the Saginaw with the Grand or Maple Rivers, if such a work was deemed necessary to be constructed. A project for a ship canal around the Sault de St. Marie, opening navigation with Lake Superior, is now in action. These several projected works of internal improvement lay the foundation for the rapid development of its resources. They will furnish means and motives for immigration to the State, will bring all its products into market, and bind together, as with iron chains, its interests and its action. Besides these projected improvements, a geological survey has been commenced under the cognizance of the State, which will doubtless reveal its sources of as yet undiscovered wealth beneath the surface of the State. The important cause of education, which is acknowledged to lie at the foundation of good government and national happiness, has received extraordinary attention under State cognizance. The beneficent provision, which has been made by Government for the erection of a State university, has been carried out, by framing this establishment on a wise and liberal foundation. Its endowment, if well husbanded, will make it probably the wealthiest institution of the United States. The cause of popular education is now ripening, and a vigorous system of common instruction will soon be felt throughout every section of the State.

By the report of the superintendent of Public Instruction, published on January 5th, 1837, it appears that there are in the

peninsula of Michigan 1,100 square miles devoted to the cause of primary education, which, estimated at the minimum price of their actual value, will produce \$520,000. The erection of the University of Michigan, which is endowed with 72 sections of land, will also go forward upon the same magnificent scale.

Besides the ample provision which has been made for public education by the establishment of common schools and libraries, the erection of the university of Michigan will exhibit a literary institution, as founded on a wider scale, and with a more liberal endowment, than any other on this side of the Atlantic. Its design, as expressed in the statute under which it is organized, is "to provide the inhabitants of the State with a means of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the various branches of literature, science, and the arts." The government of the university is vested in a board of twelve regents, and the course of instruction is divided into three grand departments:—1, Law; 2, Medicine; 3, Literature, Science, and the Arts. In the department of literature, science, and the arts, are established fifteen professorships; consisting of one of the ancient languages, the modern languages, rhetoric and oratory, philosophy of history, logic and philosophy of the human mind, moral philosophy and natural theology, including the history of all religions, political economy, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and pharmacy, geology and mineralogy, botany and zoology, the fine arts, civil engineering and architecture. The department of law is constituted of three professorships; one of natural, international and constitutional law, one of common and statute law and of equity, and also one of commercial and maritime law. The department of medicine consists of a professorship of anatomy, surgery, physiology and pathology, practice of physic, obstetrics, and the diseases of women and children, and also one of materia medica and medical jurisprudence.

This chapter cannot perhaps be concluded better than by showing, in a tabular form, the names of the several governors and administrators under whose jurisdiction Michigan has been placed since the erection of the royal government in 1663.*

* See Bouchette's British dominions. Vol. I. p. 447.

FRENCH.	DATE OF OFFICE.
Sieur de Mesy	1663.
Sieur de Courcelle	1665.
Sieur de Frontenac	1672.
Sieur de Barre	1682.
Sieur Marquis de Nonville	1685.
Sieur de Frontenac	1689.
Sieur Chevalier de Callières	1699.
The Marquis de Vaudreuil	1703.
The Marquis de Beauharnois	1726.
Sieur Comte de la Gallisoniere	1749.
Sieur de la Jonquiere	1749.
The Marquis du Quesne de Menneville	1752.
Sieur de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal	1755.

ENGLISH GOVERNORS AFTER THE CONQUEST.

James Murray	1763.
Paulus Emelins Irving, Pres.	1766.
Guy Carleton, Lieut. Gov. and Com. in Chief	1766.
Hector T. Cramahé, Pres.	1770.
Guy Carleton	1774.
Frederick Haldimand	1774.
Henry Hamilton, Lieut. Gov. and Com. in Chief	1774.
Henry Hope, Lieut. Gov. and Com. in Chief	1775.
Lord Dorchester, Gov. General of Canada	1776.
Alured Clarke, Lieut. Gov. and Com. in Chief	1791.
Lord Dorchester	1798.

AMERICANS.

William Hull	1805.
Lewis Cass	1814.
George B. Porter	1832.
Stevens T. Mason, Act. Gov.	1834.
John S. Horner	1835.
Stevens T. Mason	1836.

CHAPTER XIII.

Face of the country—Rivers—Soil—Timbered land—Oak openings—Prairies—Burr-oak plains—Animals—Interior Lakes—Geological structure—Minerals—Cost of clearing lands—Roads—Climate—Beauty of the scenery—Features of the north-western part of the State—Aboriginal monuments and organic remains—Indian topographical names—Internal Improvement.

THE State of Michigan yet bears the general aspect of a vast wilderness, occasionally studded with villages, intersected by numerous streams, and nearly surrounded by mediterranean seas, which are comprised in Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, Michigan, and Superior. In approaching its eastern border from New-York through Lake Erie, the face of the country appears low, consisting of lands heavily timbered with a class of forest trees, growing from a rich soil of clay loam, or a sort of muck, which is composed of decayed vegetable matter. This character of land seems to prevail upon a belt, varying from five to forty miles along the borders of the lakes, which gives evidence that it has been once submerged. The trees of this heavily timbered land, with their massive shafts standing close together, cast a gloomy grandeur over the scene; and when stripped of foliage appear like the black colonnade of a vast sylvan temple. The streams on this level and densely wooded soil are sluggish. In advancing into the interior, a more picturesque and rolling country opens to view, covered with oak openings, or groves of white oak thinly scattered over the ground, which have the appearance of stately parks. The configuration of the soil is as if it was covered with mounds disposed without order, sometimes rising to the height of two hundred feet, but more usually maintaining an elevation of only about thirty or forty. Accordingly there is a delightful alternation of hill and dale, which is sometimes varied by a rich prairie or a burr oak grove, which

resembles a cultivated orchard studded with the largest pear trees. The peninsular portion of the State exhibits no rocks of granitic character, excepting the boulders, which seem to be foreign to the soil. The rocky formation is comprised of lime, sand-stones, and shales; the first of which forms the beds of many of the streams. This undulating portion of the State extends through a great part of the counties of Hillsdale, Jackson, Washtenaw, Ingham, Eaton, Livingston, Oakland, Ionia, and Kent; and also far north of the Grand River, through the unsurveyed district. The character of that portion of the country bordering on Lake Superior is, however, far different. There the soil gives evidence of primary formation, and is broken into deep valleys and rugged mountain chains, covered with pine, generally barren, with the exception of the valleys and the elevated plains. These furnish a fertile soil.

The rivers and streams which water the State are small, but numerous. The principal are, the Grand, the St. Joseph, the Kalamazoo, the Saginaw, the Raisin, the Clinton, the Huron, and the Rouge. The first of these streams is the largest in Michigan. It is two hundred and seventy miles in length, about fifty rods broad at its mouth, and has a free navigation for steamboats and batteaux which now ply from Lake Michigan to the Grand Rapids, a distance of about forty miles. The St. Joseph River, another beautiful and clear stream, waters a fertile and picturesque tract of the State, consisting of oak openings, prairies, and heavily timbered land; and empties into lake Michigan about seventy-five miles south of the Grand River. That river maintains an average breadth of about thirty rods for one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth. The Kalamazoo is a small, winding, and transparent stream, running over a bed of lime-stone rock, and pebbles. This also empties into Lake Michigan. The Saginaw, which is on the northern part of the peninsula, runs into Lake Huron, and is navigable for sixty miles from its mouth. The Raisin, so called from the grapes which flourish on its banks, is a small stream, winding through a considerable portion of thickly timbered land. It affords water power, and emp-

ties into Lake Erie. The Clinton is also a beautiful stream, which waters the eastern portion of the State. These rivers, beside numerous others of less size, interlock their branches through different parts of the State; and while they beautify the landscape, afford water power and navigation, and at the same time fertilize the soil.

The soil of Michigan is various. It may be divided into, heavily timbered land, barrens, oak openings, burr-oak plains, and prairies; and the growth of the vegetation indicates the character of the land. The heavily timbered land, comprised of the largest class of forest trees, indicates a soil of clay, a wet muck, or a dry, black, sandy loam, based on a close soil of reddish earth. The two last species of soil are highly productive, and will yield, with the careless tillage of a new country, from twenty to thirty-five bushels of wheat by the acre; and they bear in abundance every kind of grain which is produced in the State of New-York. This soil, although as productive as any in the State, is more difficult to clear, as it usually costs from ten to fifteen dollars an acre to fit it for cultivation. There is, however, one advantage in the timbered land to an emigrant with small means. After the timber is cut down, the soil does not require ploughing; a harrow drawn by one yoke of oxen will render it fit for cultivation, as the surface of the land is highly mellow.

The barrens are a soil but thinly covered with stunted oaks; and it is found, that although not the most fertile, they produce well.

The white oak openings, which constitute a great proportion of the soil of the State, is entirely different from the timbered lands. Extending as far as the eye can reach, like lofty parks, their surface is covered with a thin layer of black vegetable mould intermixed with gravel. A proportion of marl is found under this surface; and lime-stone, pebbles, sand, and frequently clay and yellow loam, may be found in the second stratum. This species of soil is eminently favorable for the production of wheat, and is supposed by many practical farmers to be the most valuable wheat lands in the country. It is easy of tillage, and seldom fails to produce a

good crop during the most unfavorable seasons. Although not favorable for grass, oats and corn thrive well. These oak openings present the finest trait of scenery in Michigan. Their scattered and lofty trees, resembling the most cherished parks in England, now swell into mound like hills, and now sweep down to a level prairie, a deep glen, or the brow of a lake. This land presents uncommon motives for settlement. The only disadvantage is, that the soil, from the thick tuft of the matted grass on its surface requires four or five yoke of oxen to break it up for the seed. The low grounds are often covered with tamerack groves.

The prairies, which are scattered over the State, resembling lakes, sometimes studded with wooded islands, bordered by shores of forest, and indented with bays, consist of a black vegetable mould, intermixed in small measure with clay, sand, or gravel. This mould varies in point of depth from one to five feet, and is based on a stratum of clay, rock, or gravel. In some instances a deep black sand constitutes the first stratum. The prairies are particularly favorable for Indian corn and oats; grass is their natural product. Wheat grows in great abundance, but the last is generally inferior in quality to that of the oak openings, as it is less clean. From the fact of the abundant produce, this species of land is sought by settlers in preference to other lands, as it requires no clearing, and produces abundantly. There are two kinds of prairies, the wet and the dry. The last have been noticed. The wet prairies are marshes, and seem to have been once the beds of lakes; and there is evidence of the subsidence of the waters in the little islands of timber which are frequently set upon their surface. They are usually covered in summer with a long and coarse grass, which is suitable for winter stock. By draining, these may be made into good meadow land. The principal productions of Michigan, at the present time, are wheat, rye, corn, oats, buck-wheat, flax, pot ashes, pearl ashes, and hemp. Fruit also thrives well; and this is demonstrated by the old French apple and pear trees which prevail, although they are but little cultivated.*

* It has been seen that La Hontan alludes to the plum and apple as growing

The burr-oak plains appear like cultivated orchards. The soil is comprised of a mixture of the earth of the prairies and the white oak openings. These bear a scattering growth of small timber of rough bark and a deep green foliage. From the intermixture of lime, which makes up a great proportion of the soil, this land is eminently productive, and, next to the prairies, is preferred by the farmers. That part of the State which lies on the north has been but little explored. It would appear, from the description of those who have examined it, that it contains extensive groves of pine ; and that the land, although broken by small hillocks and swamps, is in many parts favorable for agriculture.

The wild animals of Michigan have been much diminished by the advance of emigration and the progress of the fur trade. Bears, beavers, otters, wolverines, porcupines, panthers, besides numerous smaller animals, abound in the State. In the northern parts of the peninsula numerous herds of elk traverse the silent landscape ; and in winter it is not unfrequent to see packs of wolves in pursuit of the deer across the crusts of snow.

Nearly the whole surface of the peninsula is studded with small lakes of clear water, which abound with fish. These afford, in some cases, water power. The transparency of the lakes, the alternations of forest and prairie, the clear streams which wind their current through the scenery, and the new villages, which stud the principal roads at wide distances, impress the scene with a freshness which makes up for the absence of any very interesting works of art.

The peninsular portion of Michigan being of alluvial formation, does not abound in minerals ; sand-stone, lime-stone, coal, gypsum, salt, iron, and sulphur springs, marl, sand, clay and bog iron ore, exist in different parts of the State ; and the investigation, now progressing under the geological departments, are constantly developing new treasures, while the upper por-

upon the shores of Lake Erie. He refers to the wild apple and wild plum, which are indigenous to Michigan. Charlevoix says the citron is found, but this appears to be a mistake. It is possible that he means the pawpaw.

tion of the State, along Lake Superior, abounds in copper, lead, and iron, radiated zeolyte, crystal, irid quartz, chalcedony, prase, jasper, opal, agate, sardonyx, and cornelian.

The cost of clearing the heavily timbered soil, it has been seen, is about fifteen dollars by the acre. This is done in the following mode: the trees are felled, and if not split into rails for the fences, the logs are rolled together and burned. The oak openings are a lighter soil than the timbered land, but from the grubs and matted grass upon its surface, it will require a team of about five yoke of oxen to break it up for the seed. The cost will be about twelve dollars, though varying according to circumstances. Such land requires but little clearing, and the trees are generally girdled to let in the sun. The burr-oak plains require about the same physical strength to break up the soil. This is probably the most valuable kind of land. The trees are cut down or girdled, the deep and mellow land is ploughed up, and in a few months it waves with a golden harvest of wheat, producing from twenty to forty bushels to the acre, and other products in the same proportion.

During the spring and fall, the roads across the State are such as to try the patience of the traveller. Those on the level and heavily timbered land are almost impassable. Along the most muddy tracts, however, a rail-road has been constructed, namely, from Detroit to Ypsilanti, and from Toledo to Adrian. These are now in operation. Composed, as the soil is, of a new rich loam and clay, which retains and mixes with the water, it forms a deep mud, excepting during the summer and the winter, when it is dried up or frozen. The climate of Michigan is more mild than that of New England within the same parallels of latitude, and comparatively little snow falls during the winter. Whatever exaggerated descriptions may have occurred regarding the natural scenery of the State, it must be admitted that nature, when in full vegetation, presents a most imposing scene. The extensive tracts of dense forests, clothed with the richest verdure, fresh as when it first came from the hand of the Almighty; the prairies and the lakes, which stud almost its entire surface; the wide parks, whose soil is entirely covered for miles

with large and rich flowers, present a striking and agreeable contrast. The beach and black walnut, the elm, the maple, the hickory, the oaks of different species and of large size, the lynn and the bass wood, and various other kinds of forest trees, indicate the fertility of the soil from which they spring. Grape-vines often hang from the branches a foot in circumference, cluster around their trunks, or thicken the undergrowth along the banks of the streams; and while the glades open to the sun like cultivated grounds, the more thickly-timbered forest, shut out from the sky by the mass of vegetation, and dampened by the rains which saturate the soil, present in summer a gloomy twilight.

To the character of mere *beauty*, which marks the peninsula, there is a contrast in the aspect of the scenery upon the southern shore of Lake Superior, the north-western boundary of the State. Those undulating tracts of alluvial soil, the lofty oak-lands, the rich burr-oak groves, and the waving prairies, are no where to be seen. As a general fact, it is cold, broken, and barren. Well might La Hontan call that region "the fag end of the world" when he passed through it in 1688. To him it might have appeared like an ocean in a storm sculptured in granite. The heaps of rocks, and the deep dells, the fragments of rocky mountains, which seem wrenched from their beds by violent convulsions of nature, and the extreme solitude of that region one hundred and fifty years ago, warranted the remark.

In travelling along the main roads of Michigan, splendid tracts of park-like lawns sweep along your path for miles, carpeted with flowers, broken by prairies, thick forests, and lakes. Here a field of wheat or oats is spread out to the eye, and there a well-built house, constructed of boards or logs, or a tavern sign, painted with all the art that the country can furnish, holds out its inducements to the traveller. Presently you will come upon a new village, indicating a remarkable freshness and vigor in the enterprise of its founders. Wagons, loaded with household furniture and the families of emigrants, are met at numerous points during the season of emigration; and in looking away from the roads,

you will see clearings through the woods, and the curl of the smoke from the prostrate trunks of smouldering trees, which show that the emigrant is there with his axe. The settler goes into the country for the purpose of practising agriculture. When he has made a selection, his neighbors, for miles around, assist him in building a house of logs. The droves of cattle, which he has carried with him, feed upon the herbage which surrounds his hut ; without expense he clears and ploughs his land ; and the next year, perhaps, finds him an independent freeholder, with a market for his produce at his own door. The emigration has heretofore exceeded the produce of the soil ; but it is well known that large quantities of wheat, during the past year, have been exported. The settler, however, must expect to grapple with hardships ; billious attacks, which are the prominent diseases of that country, may surprise him ; and the labor of clearing his land may be greater than was expected ; but under ordinary circumstances, by the exercise of industry, the second or third year will find him in comfort and independence ; for he derives a threefold advantage in his labor,—he derives an annual product from the soil, increases the actual value of the land cultivated, and also that of the surrounding land, by his improvement. It is not, however, to be understood that the country is destitute of handsome houses, although, in their construction, comfort is less regarded than it should be. Not only does the frontier of Michigan along Lake Erie and the Detroit River exhibit very handsome specimens of architecture, but the interior villages present many tasteful and substantial buildings, and particularly the banks of some of the lakes. These, however, seem to be less designed for show than for the convenience of a working population.

Michigan contains, so far as is known, but few of those ancient monuments of an unknown race which are scattered over the western soil, increasing in magnitude and splendor, from the southern shores of Lake Erie, to the City of Mexico. The imagination of antiquarians, looking for forms of art where they do not exist, has doubtless exaggerated extraordinary appearances on the surface of the soil into evidences

of cultivation. Many hypotheses have been formed regarding these ancient works, and the arguments which were intended to establish them have ended where they commenced, in darkness. After all, it must be granted that circumstances furnish a foundation for the belief that a race of men have lived in this country previous to the voyages of Jacques Cartier, who were much further advanced in civilization than the present race of Indians. Whatever may be the opinion of men regarding the origin of these remains, it is well known that fortifications have been discovered, many of which are constructed on exact principles of mathematical science; and specimens of art are also exhumated, which have been made from materials not now used by the savages; and that earthen images, of Chinese form,—vases, crucibles, bowls, bracelets, and implements of unknown use,—are found buried in the earth throughout a great part of the west; particularly in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and along the banks of the Mississippi. Vegetable remains of plants, whose species are now extinct, are also excavated below the surface of the soil. If this is the fact, and it cannot be denied, as the articles, thus found, may be seen in the different cabinets of the United States, and the ruins of these ancient works still remain, then it must be granted that these reliques of art sprang from a higher degree of civilization than is possessed by the present race of Indians. The degree of civilization which these works evince, has probably been magnified, and utensils and ornaments, which might have been left by the early French emigrants, are attributed to that unknown race. But the remains of rude fortifications, villages, and wells; and the several utensils which have been discovered, evince a higher degree of civilization than that which is possessed by the Indians. Some of these works occupy places which were once covered with water. The utensils give evidence of a more remote date, than the immigration of the French. Their form is not of French origin; and it is clear that they were manufactured by a distinct race of men, or that the Indians have gone back from a certain degree of civilization.

It is somewhat remarkable that the State of Michigan is

in a great measure destitute of these ancient works in the more complex forms. Mounds exist in different parts of the State, principally along the banks of the Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, and the Grand River, besides appearances on the soil near Kalamazoo and the Grand River, which resemble the remains of flower gardens. In Wisconsin, mounds are discovered in the shape of mammoths, elephants, and turtles. The mounds which have been opened in Michigan are of a round form, and they generally stand in lines. Bones have been dug out from some of them. These mounds are similar to those which are found in connexion with the larger works. Whether they have had any relation, is a matter of uncertainty. These works are, at best, but semi-barbarous remains; and although the opinions of those who have examined the subject are concurrent that the Indians did not produce them, their arguments can only have a conjectural foundation. Besides these aboriginal works, there have been found in Michigan the remains of a mammoth, in Van Buren county, near the bank of the Paw-paw River. One tusk, it is alleged, was about seven feet long; and parts of the back-bone were collected which were of immense size. Most of these fragments crumbled on exposure to the air. They were discovered about seven feet below the surface. We have seen a tooth which weighed three pound ten ounces. This was dug up at that place, and it appears to be in a state of petrification. It is probable that the future explorations of the State will develop more of these organic remains.

It is contended by many that these ancient reliques belong to the Indians; and the condition of Montreal, when Cartier first visited that place, might lead somewhat to confirm the fact, because it would seem to evince a somewhat higher degree of civilization than the Indians now possess.* But the hearths and fire-places which have been found along the Ohio River six feet below the surface, the chimneys on the banks of the Muskingum, at its mouth and also at Point Harmar, opposite Marietta, the patriarchal wells near Portsmouth, the wall-

* See the first chapter of this work, where it is described.

ed town on Paint Creek in the state of Ohio, the potter's ware which has been found in the same State and along the northern waters of the Scioto, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, the idols which have been dug up near Nashville and Natchez, the carved owl which was found near Columbus, and the triune vessel made of clay, and consisting of three heads of Chinese form, which has been discovered on the Tany fork of the Cumberland ; also the ancient ruin of Aztalan, do not seem to belong to that people. The Mammoth, whose bones are found so far below the surface, might have been wrecked in the deluge ; and the soil, by vegetable deposite, heaped over its remains ; but the ancient works seem to refer to a later age. The race to which these reliques belong, probably had no great degree of refinement. We find among the ruins of their ancient cities no subterranean aqueducts or written scrolls. We dig up from the soil no marble foundations, no enamelled vases, no works of sculpture and painting, which mark the country of Phidias and Apelles as the land of luxury and the arts. Monuments, other than those which might be conceived to belong to a remote people, demi-civilized, and yet versed somewhat in science, have not, as yet, on this region seen the day. Extraordinary exertions have been recently made in Mexico to decypher the origin of the works in that quarter, with which it is thought that these may be somewhat connected. But although the concentrated blaze of knowledge has been poured upon the exhumated reliques and sunken ruins of this unknown race, it has only made the darkness visible. No record, or column, has recorded their history. The Mammoth and the urn, the city, the vase, and the skeleton, lie in their sunless chambers like the spirits of the past, as if in mockery of an age which arrogates to itself the term of an age of light. They will probably remain for ever a signal rebuke upon the learning of modern times, assuming the pride of universal knowledge.*

* For a collection of zoological, botanical, and geological specimens of Michigan production, see the valuable cabinet of Dr. Douglas Houghton, the enterprising geologist of the State.

The Indian names which marked the prominent points of Michigan, as well as other parts of the north-west, exhibit the mode in which the savages defined the topography of the country. From the extent of the region through which they roamed, these names are rather general than particular, and were used as land-marks to guide them in their migrations. A general term, founded on a certain feature of natural scenery, the depth and current of a stream, the size of a rock or the form of a lake, was often used to designate a wide tract of territory. The following are subjoined :—

ENGLISH.	INDIAN.	DEFINITION.
Kalamazoo	Kik-alamazoo	Looming or mirage river, causing the stones to appear like otters.
River Rouge	Minosa-goink	Singeing skin river.
Milwaukee	Minwarikée	Rich land.
River Raisin	Numma sepee	River of Sturgeons.
Detroit	Wawewatonong	Place you go round the sun in approaching.
Lake Superior	Gitchigomnee	Sea water.
Gibraltar	Kechiessining	Great stone.
Niagara Falls	O, ni, áá-garah (Iroquois)	The thunder of waters.
Equabaw	Equabaw	End of deep water.
Wassawassebee	Wassawassepee	The River where the fish is hunted with lights.
Moskegon	Moskego-sepee	Marshy river.
Pocagonk	Pocagonk	The rib.
Chicago	Sheckawgo	The place of wild onions, or leeks.
Titabawassee	Titebawassee	A River that runs alongside.
Ontonagon	Nundee Norgon	Hunting River.
Huron River	Wrockumiteogoc	Clear River.
Owosso	Owosso	Person warning himself.
River Ecorce	Nagaikur sebee	Bark River.
Saginaw	Sac-e-nong	Sac Town.
Lake Michigan	Michisawgyegan	Great Lake.
Mississippi	Michi sepee	Great River.
Michilimackinac	Michenemackinong, or Michimackinac	Place of Giant Fairies, Great Turtle.

Shiawassee	Scia-wassee	Strait running.
Onisconsin	Oniscons-sebee	River where the wood is scorched by fire.
Grand River	Wash-bee-yon, also Wash-tenong	A body of water running over shining canals.
Grand Rapids	Powetink (Ottawa)	The noise of falling waters.
Sault St. Marie	Powating (Chippewa)	Water shallow on the rocks.
Detroit	Yondotia (Wyandott)	Great town.
Au Glaize River	Cowthenake sepee	Falling timber river.
Miami of the Lake	Ottawas sepee	Ottawas River.
Sandusky River	Potake sepee	Rapid River.
Cincinnati	Tu ent a hah e waghta	The place where the road leaves the river.
Chillicothe	Tat a ra ra	Leaning bank.
Muskingum	Wakelamo sepee	Town on the river side.
Kentucky River	Kentuckee	At the head of a river.
Mad River	Athenee sepee	Smooth stone river.
Licking River	Nepepenine sepee	Salt river.
Cumberland River	Magnehoque sepee	Free with a large knot.
Blanchard's fork of the Au Glaize	Quegh tu wa	Claws in the water.

Gibraltar, the new village at the mouth of the Detroit River, was known by the Indian term which signifies a great stone, from the rock at that point. Lake St. Clair, the Round Lake, from its form. River Rouge, the Singeing River, from the fact that the Indians were accustomed to dress their game on its shores. Milwaukee, the Rich Land, from the quality of the soil. The Huron, the Clear River, from its comparative transparency. The River Raisin, the Sturgeon River, from the number of that fish within its waters during certain seasons of the year. Kalamazoo, the Mirage River, from its reflective power. The Moskegon, the Marshy River, from its wet prairies. River Ecorce, the Bark River, as the Indians were accustomed to procure their bark at this place for their canoes and mococks, and wigwams. Michilimackinac was also called the Land of Great Fairies, from the mythological superstition which peopled this singular island; and Chicago was named from the vast quantity of leeks which abound in that region.*

* It is not claimed that these Indian topographical terms are given with per-

The system of Internal Improvement, which has been projected to unite the eastern portion of the peninsula with Lake Michigan, sheds honor upon the State, and demonstrates the vigor and enterprize of the people of Michigan. These public works are the Clinton and Kalamazoo canal, commencing at Mt. Clemens, passing through the counties of Macomb, Oakland, Livingston, Ingham, Eaton, Barry, and Allegan, and terminating at Naples, on the Kalamazoo River, about a mile from the lake. The Northern rail-road commences at Palmer on the St. Clair, and running through the counties of St. Clair, La Peer, Genessee, Shiawassee, Clinton, Ionia, and down the valley of the Grand River, terminates at the Grand Rapids in Kent county. The Middle rail-road commences at Detroit, and running through the counties of Wayne, Washtenaw, Jackson, Calhoun, Kalamazoo, and Berrien, it terminates at the mouth of the St. Joseph on Lake Michigan. The track of the Southern rail-road commences at Monroe ; and running through the counties of Monroe, Lenawee, Hillsdale, Branch St. Joseph, Cass, and Berrien, is designed to terminate at New Buffalo on Lake Michigan.

fect *philological* precision, as they are inserted according to their sound. They are however, I believe, generally accurate, so far as they show points of demarkation. I am indebted for these names to Mr. Henry Connor, an intelligent Indian trader, who has spent the greater part of a long life in the Indian territory, and to Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq. for their supervision.

CHAPTER XIV.

General view of the Lake—Coast of Michigan—Size of the Lakes—Fish—Shore of Lake Erie and the Detroit River—Detroit—Lake St. Clair—River St. Clair—Fort Gratiot—Lake Huron—Saginaw Bay—Mackinaw—Falls of St. Marie—Lake Superior—Green Bay—Lake Michigan—Length of the Coast.

THE State of Michigan comprises an area of more than fifty thousand square miles, and its shores are washed by Lakes Erie, St. Clair, Huron, Superior, and Michigan.

These lakes constitute much the largest continuous body of fresh water on the globe, affording, with the exception of the obstruction which is caused by the Falls of St. Marie, around which is projected a ship canal, a connected chain of navigation. They open to Michigan a coast on three sides. This expanse of lake commerce extends from the remotest shores of Lake Superior to the State of New-York. The subjoined table exhibits the elevation and magnitude of these lakes.

Lake Erie is two hundred and seventy miles long, sixty miles wide, one hundred and twenty feet deep; and its surface is estimated at about five hundred and sixty-five feet above tide water at Albany. Lake Huron is two hundred and fifty miles long, and its average breadth is one hundred miles. It is nine hundred feet deep, and its surface about five hundred and ninety-five feet above tide water. Lake Michigan is four hundred miles long, sixty miles broad, nine hundred feet deep, and its surface near five hundred and ninety-five feet above tide water.

Green Bay, which expands from Lake Michigan, is about one hundred miles long and twenty miles wide. Lake St.

Clair is estimated at thirty miles in length and twenty-five miles wide.

Lake Superior is four hundred and eighty miles long, one hundred miles broad, nine hundred feet deep, and its surface six hundred and forty feet above tide water. This extent of lakes constitutes more than one half of the fresh water upon the face of the earth.

The magnitude and depth of these lakes, the resources and vast extent of territory which they wash, extending from the remotest Canadian shores of the North-west to the State of New-York ; the advantages which they afford for the construction of safe harbors, and the probable denseness of population along their banks ; will doubtless cause this section of country to be of vast importance in the future commerce of the country.

These lakes abound also with fish ; some of the most delicious kinds. Among these are the Sturgeon, the Mackinaw Trout, the Mosquenonge, the white fish, and others of smaller size peculiar to fresh water. The Sturgeon advances up the stream from the lakes during the early part of spring to spawn, and are caught there in large quantities by the Indians. The Mackinaw Trout is a delicious fish, somewhat resembling, in taste and appearance, the Salmon ; and are frequently caught, weighing fifty pounds. These form a principal article of luxury in the markets. The Mosquenonge is also a fish of fine flavor, somewhat similar to the Pike, and are found weighing sometimes fifty pounds.

The White Fish is abundant, and constitutes a valuable article of commerce along the lakes ; somewhat smaller than the Shad, and of a form more symmetrical. When first caught, they glitter in the sun like burnished silver. They swim in immense shoals, and are taken in large quantities around Mackinaw, at the falls of St. Marie, and in most of the connecting waters of these lakes.

Herring, Pike, and Pickerel abound also in these waters. Some fish of the larger size are caught in winter by the Indians through the ice, although the greatest part is taken in the summer and autumn, by individual enterprise as well as

by the Hudson's Bay and American Fur Companies on the lakes, particularly on Lake Superior. These are packed in barrels and transported to New-York and Ohio, where they command a good price. The fish of the lakes have been celebrated by the Jesuits and travellers to this region from the earliest periods.

The scenery presented in passing along the western shore of Lake Erie up the Detroit River, is entirely distinct from that which is exhibited on the Atlantic frontier. The eastern shore of Michigan presents a level surface, covered with a dense forest, at points meeting the edge of the bank, and occasionally studded with a village just founded. Among those which have been recently commenced directly on the shore, are Havre, Brest, Gibraltar, and Truago. A group of beautiful islands are set in the mouth of the Detroit River, which, in connection with the distant view of the lake, gives a picturesque character to the scenery. The natural charms of this country, clothed in full verdure, did not fail to call forth from the early French explorers glowing eulogies.

About twenty miles from the mouth of the Detroit River is the city of Detroit, standing on a level a few feet above the immediate bank of the river. It now contains more than ten thousand inhabitants. This place has at the present time a somewhat foreign aspect, as it is a general depot for the emigrants to the north-west on their way to the upper lakes. A great proportion of this population are from the New England States and the State of New-York, commingled with English, Dutch, Irish, Swiss, and numerous Frenchmen, the remnants of the early Canadian founders of the country. Here also, at stated times, may be seen the savages of the remote north-west, the half-breed Indian, with deer skin leggings and moccasins enamelled with beads, quills of the porcupine, red bands and feathers on their hats, blue frock and red girdle. Along the banks of the Detroit River the houses of the old French peasantry strike the traveller's eye, standing in a continuous line below the city. The descendants of the ancient *habitans* adhere alike to the dress and manners of their fathers, and to the Catholic faith which they

professed. Some may be seen with a long blue gown, red cap and sash, with colored leggins, by which they are distinguished.

The same character marks the scenery as you advance up the river. The American shore is adorned with French farms, enclosed in pickets, comprising on the river a width of about four acres, and extending back until they meet the forest. The cottages have a neat appearance, are constructed in the French style, of small size, and surrounded with flourishing orchards. The horses and cattle, grazing by the river side, cast over the prospect an air of great pastoral comfort and tranquil repose. The country along the river has an ancient aspect. The soil is a deep black loam, adapted to all the products of agriculture common to these regions, but somewhat worn by imprudent tillage. About six miles from Detroit, advancing upward, Lake St. Clair, the smallest of the chain, expands itself towards the horizon. On the American side the banks of this lake are undulating, and elevated about twenty feet from its surface. The soil is alluvial, and of a rich quality.

The principal streams which flow into Lake St. Clair, is the Clinton river from the west or American side, and the rivers Chenala Ecarté, and Thames, on the side of Canada. The latter is made remarkable as the scene of Harrison's victory. The river St. Clair connects Lake Huron with Lake St. Clair. It is a clear and picturesque stream, maintaining an average breadth of about three quarters of a mile. The American shore is settled mainly by French farmers, and consists of elevated land, well covered with oak, elm, maple, and beach woods. An Indian canoe occasionally darts out, like a silver arrow, from the shore, and then disappears behind the woodlands. The same wooded islands, the same clear waters, massy and verdant foliage, the same steam-boats, ploughing the field of glass, and the same vessels with their snow-white canvass floating along the unruffled surface, give the landscape the same mild character as that around Detroit. Belle and Black river, both pour their waters into the river St. Clair on the American side. Along a great part of this

shore the French settlements are extensive. At the foot of Lake Huron stands Fort Gratiot. This battery commands the entrance into the upper lakes, and would be of great military importance in case of war, in furnishing a bulwark against the encroachments of the Savages, and controlling the commerce of these waters. The advantages of this position, as a trading and military establishment, were fully appreciated from a remote period ; and here the early French traders had erected a fort, which was subsequently occupied by the French government, by the name of St. Joseph. That fort was abandoned and burned by the commandant Baron La Hontan as early as 1688, in consequence of a peace which was effected between the Governor of Canada, Marquis de Denonville, by which the Iroquois obtained possession of Niagara.

The present fort, consisting of a stockade, magazine, and barracks, was erected about the year 1814. Lake Huron soon spreads out its wide surface to the traveller's eye. The sky and the waters seem to meet each other along the horizon, while on the left appears a long alluvial shore, covered with a growth of pine, poplar, birch, and hemlock ; and a wide beach of sand, skirting the margin of the lake, occasionally diversified by masses of limestone and granite. The native trees growing on the shore indicate the quality of its soil, which grows more barren and desolate as you advance from the head of the river St. Clair. Proceeding further upon the shore of Lake Huron, the banks are found more elevated, rising to forty feet in height, and so continue for about six miles. These are composed of blue clay, and constitute a firm abutment against the billows of the lake. The features of the coast are not marked with much that is interesting. No historical facts of much importance are connected with it. The perils and privations of the Canadian voyageurs, in by-gone days, have left no trace to mark the sterile shore. The uniformity and dead level of the lake shore is maintained until within about fifty-three miles of Fort Gratiot. Here there is seen an enormous rock, lifting its summit from the deep, about a mile distant from the shore, and is called the White

Rock. From time immemorial this rock has been an altar or a landmark. As the latter, by the voyageurs ; but by the savages as a place of oblation, where sacrifices were offered to the Great Spirit,—an appropriate altar for such a sacrifice. At the Point aux Barques, opposite the widest part of the lake, the waves have beaten against the banks, and the storms driven the crumbled stones into a vast sand heap, now covered with trees of pine. Islands of rocks, clothed with forest trees, are formed on this part of the shore.

Saginaw Bay is a large indentation of the shore line, and is estimated to be sixty miles deep and thirty miles broad. Near the centre it is studded with islets. Twenty miles from the mouth of the bay stands the thriving city of Saginaw.

Saginaw river waters in its course one of the most beautiful and eligible portions of the State. From the north-westerly Cape of Saginaw Bay to Flat Rock Point, the shore of Lake Huron exhibits a bank of alluvial soil, with a margin of sand along its border, intersected with frequent masses of limestone rock, in some places ground to fragments by the surging waves ; at others lifting its backs above them. Many interesting specimens of organic remains are to be found along this shore. The absence of any work of art or historic associations, occasions a destitution of lively interest in the scenery on the Michigan side of Lake Huron. The wide expanse of water on the north, which exhibits no change but that of the elements, when its forehead scowls with tempests, or the peaceful calm spreads out its crystal mirror to the skies, presents little that is worthy of record. The steamers from Detroit ply along its shores, burdened with freight for the north-western ports, and the canvass of numerous vessels of all sizes may be seen on the same errand.

To the political economist, the practical farmer, and the patriot, this lovely and comparatively now lonely scene presents a different aspect. To these it seems a great highway of commerce, which will at some future day, and that not distant, connect the treasures of its coast with the markets of the east ; and whose surface will bear upon its bosom the wealth of

empires. This channel of emigration will unlock the fertile gardens of the north-west to eastern capital and its well-known enterprise. The immense line of forest bordering the lake, bearing a growth of the pine, the hemlock, and the birch, indicates a sterile soil ; while ranges of hornblend, limestone and granite, do not present encouragement to the agriculturist, along its banks ; although the prominent points and indentations will invite the establishment of large sea-ports for active business, as the interior shall expand its settlements. About three hundred miles from Detroit, upon the straits of Mackinaw, which connect the Lakes Huron and Michigan, lies the Island of Michilimackinac, a brilliant diadem on the brow of the north-western lakes.

On the shore of Lake Huron, about half-way to this island, is Thunder Bay. It is so denominated from the impression that the air is more than ordinarily charged with lightning. This, doubtless, is without foundation. During the rage which has not long since prevailed for speculation, it was proposed to lay out a city for eastern capitalists on its shores, with the striking name and fame of *Thundersburgh*.

The middle island on Lake Huron is celebrated as a place of shelter for the vessels and canoes of the numerous voyageurs and others engaged in the lake trade.

Michilimackinac is about nine miles in circumference. Its highest elevation is about three hundred feet above the level of the lake, and it stands connected with some of the most interesting historical associations, as well as natural monuments, which this region supplies. Among the latter, are the Skull Rock ; the Natural Pyramid ; and the Giant's Arch. This last name is given to an immense curve, formed and thrown out from the precipice on the north-eastern side of the island. It is one hundred and forty feet high above the lake, and stands supported by abutments of calcareous rock. The Natural Pyramid is a huge and rugged column, about thirty feet broad at the base and about ninety feet in height.

The Skull Rock is distinguished mainly as an ancient tomb, where the bones of the dead, probably sacrificed at

at feasts, were not long since abundantly to be found. Above the town, at some distance, stands Fort Michilimackinac, upon a rocky hill. Here a garrison has generally been maintained. During the late war the British took possession of the island, and erected a battery called Fort St. George. Subsequently, and after the unsuccessful attack upon it by Major Croghan and the fall of the gallant Holmes, it received the name of Fort Holmes. It is now evacuated, and in ruins. From the position of this island, almost in the centre of the lake navigation, it has long been an important rendezvous for the Indian tribes, and those connected with the fur trade; and also the theatre of some of the most important military events connected with the colonization of the north-western territory.

Mackinaw proper, as the term is used in modern times, is confined to the island; whereas the ancient town of Michilimackinac was three leagues distant on the peninsular coast of Michigan. The foundations of the old town were laid by the French, as has been noticed; and the settlement made by them soon became a nucleus for an extensive and valuable fur trade. After the surrender of Quebec in 1759, it fell into the hands of the British, against the will of the Indians. So keen was their prejudice, that Alexander Henry, an English trader, found it necessary to assume the dress of a Canadian in his intercourse with them, in order to avoid the consequences of the animosity which they entertained toward his countrymen.

The demolition of this fort, in the year 1763, furnished them with a prominent occasion for the exercise of their native cunning and cruelty. The town, too, which had been for ninety-two years a seat of the trade in furs, was razed from its foundations by their fury. After the destruction of the ancient village and fort, the English proceeded to take possession of the island of Mackinaw, which they fortified; and for a course of years it advanced with a gradual and solid growth.

During the war of the American Revolution, this place was a rallying-point of the Indians hostile to the United States; and in the year 1796 it came under the jurisdiction

of the American Government. The fort, during the late war, was occupied and maintained by British troops until the treaty of Ghent, when it was finally surrendered, and now constitutes a part of the State of Michigan. Around a small bay, and stretching along the southern side of the island, in a compact form, stands the village. In the year 1819 it consisted of one hundred and fifty houses, containing about four hundred and fifty inhabitants ; although the number was at that time somewhat swelled by the accession of Indians and American traders. The position and scenery, on and about this island, distinguish it as the most romantic point in the State of Michigan. Rising with peculiar boldness out of the watery realm, it strikes the eye like a gigantic throne, where the native sons of the wilderness might well come to pay their homage to Him who held sway over their boundless range of inland seas. Its waters are supplied with excellent fish in the greatest abundance, while the game of the adjoining forest seldom disappoints the hunter. The canoe of the Indian, buoyant and fleet, darting through the clear waters ; the clean-painted houses of the village, on grounds gently ascending ; the mansion of the Indian agency, marked by the American banner, sporting like the spirit of freedom, in all the wildness of this lovely scene from the walls of the fort ; impress on the mind a sentiment of admiration which might well awaken the fictions of poetry and the glories of the canvass.

In the year 1820 this town was the seat of an Indian agency of the United States, a council-house, a post-office, and gaol. Fine building stone abounds on the island. It was long the depot of the fur trade, conducted by the American Fur Company under the agency of Messrs. Stewart and Crooks. A large portion of the town plot was occupied by the buildings and fixtures connected with that establishment. Their warehouses, offices, boat yards, stores, &c. were numerous, affording employment for a great number of mechanics, clerks, and engagees, necessarily connected with so great an establishment. It is now unoccupied, but the trade is extensively carried on by individual adventurers. Steam-boats almost daily visit this place upon their voyages to the north-

western ports ; while the numberless canoes and vessels, during the period of navigation, which daily go into the station, give an air of business and bustle to this beautiful island.

The coast of Lake Huron, as you proceed towards the Sault St. Marie, until within about three miles of that place, is composed of low swamps, in some places intersected by sandy plains, covered at different points with fragments of limestone, hornblend, and granite.

The village of St. Joseph, situated on the island of that name, and which was destroyed by Col. Croghan before his attack on the island of Michilimackinac, may now be seen a heap of mouldering ruins. This island was occupied by the British in 1795, and contains an area of about fifty-seven thousand acres of land. The old British fort elevated fifty-four feet above the level of the lake, maintains a military position somewhat commanding.

The British Government, after the fall of St. Joseph, fortified Drummond's Island, near the mouth of the strait, which has since been a valuable position in aid of the fur trade.

The falls of the Sault St. Marie essentially obstruct the ship navigation of the upper lakes. The village of that name, which is there situated, is about fifteen miles below Lake Superior, and ninety miles north-west of the island of Mackinaw. Its situation is elevated, and the scenery is picturesque. The enterprise of Michigan has recently projected a plan for a ship channel around these falls. The effect of this bold and honorable adventure, when executed, will be to open to the shores of New-York the sources of the vast and unlimited mineral region surrounding this magnificent world of waters.

It is estimated that the fall is here about twenty-three feet in half a mile. At this place nature assumes an air of unusual grandeur and sublimity. Vast fragments of rocks, consisting of granite and hornblend, lie imbedded in the stream, which, opposed to the current of the rapids, scatter its foam around the maple, the pine, the hemlock, and the elm, mingled in green forests upon its banks. The canoes of the Indians engaged in fishing, and which are seen playing around

the foot of the falls ; and the distant mountains of Lake Superior, which stand like mighty battlements on the horizon, impress the scenery with a character of solitary grandeur. Boats destined for the fur trade can ascend these rapids with half a load, but in returning they may be filled with freight. The town, consisting, in 1820, of twenty buildings, is on the American side. During that year it was occupied chiefly by French and English, who were engaged in the fur trade. The country around is elevated, and the village bears the aspect of an ancient settlement. Charlevoix visited it in 1721, not long after it was founded. In 1762 it contained but four houses, two of which were occupied as barracks, with a stockaded fort and garrison. The old fort is totally destroyed. In the year 1820 the village contained forty lodges of Chippewa Indians and two hundred inhabitants. Their principal subsistence was the White Fish, which are taken in great abundance in these waters.

On the north bank of the river there were at that time six or seven dwelling-houses, occupied by French and English inhabitants, beside the establishment of the north-west company of fur traders. These consisted of a saw mill, a boat yard, some stone houses, and a dwelling-house. The company had constructed a canal, with a lock and towing path, fitted for ascending with barges and canoes on their trading expeditions. They had also erected a pier from one of the islands, at the head of the rapids, constituting a harbor, where the goods destined for the trade were shipped. Here also lay a vessel to receive the merchandize intended for the regions around the Great Lake and the Grand Portage. In the progress of the country, the Sault de St. Marie must of necessity become a place of great commercial importance. At the head of navigation, below Lake Superior, it was early deemed so important in the prosecution of the fur trade, as to be selected by the French Canadians for that purpose, and has been used for that purpose both by the French and English, as well as Americans, ever since. By the late act of Congress defining the boundaries of Michigan, this station is embraced within it ; and the enterprise of the State will doubtless make it an

agent of great wealth, by furnishing a free navigation to the lake, which may be justly called the Father of the Northwestern waters. A passage of fifteen miles through a wide and pleasant stream, called the River St. Mary's, brings one to the lake. Here the Superior stretches out its broad expanse far to the west, like an ocean. Before you is exhibited a display of scenery, the most grand and magnificent which can be found within the borders of the State. It is a scene of simple grandeur. The mountains upon the Canadian shore and at the south lie piled along the skies, and appear like distant clouds upon the horizon. In a calm, the waters, fresh and clear as crystal, move over a bed of rocks. "When it was calm," says Carver, "and the sun shone bright, I could sit in my canoe, where the depth was upwards of six fathoms, and plainly see huge piles of stones, of different shapes; some of which appeared as if they had been hewn." Storms rage, at times, on this lake, as upon the Atlantic. Navigation, however, has not yet advanced in any great degree upon these remote waters. The barges and canoes employed in the fur business hug the shores in their expeditions upon them, and, of course, are subject to comparatively few accidents of much consequence.

When the French held Canada, a small schooner plied upon this lake. As yet the march of enterprise has not scattered its vessels and steamers upon its surface. It is now at the point where Lake Eric was found in the year 1800. The lower shore of the lake is a margin of sand. A few miles back it terminates in highlands of considerable elevation. The timber consists of oak, aspen, birch, hemlock, and pine. The shore is broken by marshes, creeks, ravines, and sand hills, which give evidence of volcanic eruptions.

The pictured rocks, so called, extend twelve miles along the margin of the lake, and are in height about three hundred feet. The various colors of red, black, brown, and yellow, which they exhibit and their name imports, are caused by the different mineral waters which are exuded. Along the borders of this lake are seen villages of Chippewas, scattered along its shores. These procure their subsistence from

the lakes, and, neglecting agriculture, many actually die of famine.

The distance from Mackinaw to the mouth of the Ontonagon River on Lake Superior, is about four hundred and sixteen miles. Here is the rock of pure copper, which is said to be the largest body of that metal to be found in the world, with but one exception. Evidences of pure copper are, in fact, exhibited on the adjacent island, and on the shores of the lake, in sufficient quantity to warrant the conviction that this country abounds to a great extent in this ore. A difference of opinion on this subject, however, exists, which it is presumed experiments will soon do away. This copper, as well as that around St. Mary, was formerly beaten out by the Indians into various utensils, as also into rings, bracelets, and other barbaric ornaments; and by the early Catholics, formed into crosses and censers.

The principal islands in this lake are Maurepas, Philipoux, the island of Yellow Sands, and Isle Royale. The latter island is estimated to be a hundred miles in length and forty broad. Of the country surrounding Lake Superior, but little is satisfactorily known; at least so far as to warrant an expectation of minute description in this work. We must follow in the track which has been travelled by previous adventurers. Enough, however, is ascertained, to warrant the belief that it is a country of great mineral wealth.

The country bordering Lake Superior is not, however, generally adapted to agriculture. Wild rice or oats grow in great abundance around the sources of the rivers and lakes in this quarter; and it was not only a grain of considerable importance during the early operations of the fur trade, but it is now much used by the Indians for subsistence. The following is the mode in which it is gathered by the savages. Before it is ripe, the Indians bind it sheafs, when standing, by strings of bark. After standing for some time exposed in this way, it is collected by bending the sheafs over into their canoes, and by beating off the grain with large sticks until these canoes are full. It is then poured into a deer-skin, which is placed in holes upon the ground, and trampled with

the bare feet until the hulls are off. Afterwards it is either parched, or boiled for use.*

Large bodies of iron sand are found along the coast of Lake Superior, greater, probably, than in any other section of the country. The water along the coast is clear and deep; and there are two natural harbors, which can hardly be excelled, at Grand Isle and Chegormegon Bay. This region will doubtless be a great place of export of minerals in the future commerce of the country.

It is enough for Lake Superior to say, that it is the largest body of fresh water on the earth, and that its waters swell the whole chain of the lakes of the north-west, fill the channels of its streams and the tide of the St. Lawrence, thunder down Niagara, and go on in their everlasting journey to the ocean. The scenery, instead of being beautiful as in the peninsular portion of Michigan, is here bold and sublime. Nature seems to have appropriated this domain to herself, where she can be enthroned amid enduring rocks, and reign in undisturbed solitude. Here, too, she has practised painting, sculpture, and architecture. The pictured rocks, painted in gorgeous colors by mineral alluviations, spread out their smooth canvass to the eye; and now the barrier is broken into vast fragments in the form of temples, arches, towers, cities, and monuments. Among the most striking of these are the Doric Rock and the Urn. From those solid walls of rock, cascades leap out, and pour their waters into the lake. Turbid swamps stretch out their dismal morasses in the hollows of these waves of rock. It seems as if nature had rent these rocks into fragments by some powerful convulsion, and had strewed their wrecks upon the shores, in mockery of human art. But a small proportion of the emigration, which is pressing to the west, lodges in this cold and inhospitable region. Scattered bands of the Chippewas and Sioux may be found upon its shores; and its darkness is sometimes illumined by the camp fires of the *Coueurs des*

* It is said that Monominee River owes the origin of its name to the Indian word which signifies wild rice-eaters.

Bois, who have adventured there in search of furs. The bear and the famished Indian wander upon its hills, and the bald eagle sits upon the cliff, and whets his beak, or watches for his prey upon the broad expanse of Lake Superior, which thunders at its base.

Green Bay, which is an indentation of Lake Michigan, is a place some interest, as containing a French settlement of ancient date. This settlement was made by the French as early as 1670. In 1820 the village consisted of sixty dwelling-houses, five hundred inhabitants, and a garrison. Seventy of the citizens were then enrolled as soldiers; the main part of whom were the French who had intermarried with the Indian women. During the last war, the influence of this people was strongly allied to the English. The village was formerly included within the territory of Michigan, and was the seat of justice for Brown County under that organization; but by the late act of congress it has been placed within the bounds of Wisconsin. The fort of Green Bay is located on the north bank of Fox River, near its mouth. It consisted, in 1820, of a range of log barracks, opening upon three sides of a square parade. It had block-houses at each angle, and was surrounded by a stockade about thirty feet in height; and was then garrisoned by three hundred men. The military establishment here has, however, become much enlarged; and a thriving settlement has been built on its present site, which is probably the nucleus of a large sea-port. The waters of Green Bay are very clear, and its banks are a rich alluvial soil, crowned with hemlock, poplar, elm, and oaks; and the verdant vegetation, which is generally much more forward here than in the surrounding country, has originated the name.

The shore of Lake Michigan, which stretches like a sea on the western side of the peninsula, is an alluvial sand, based on transition lime-stone, covered at intervals with fragments of rock of the primitive and secondary classes; and bearing at points a growth of beach, oak, pine, birch, poplar, and maple. Petrifications of some interest are found among masses of hornblend, quartz, limestone, and granite.

The different sections of the shore of the lake do not, however, exhibit a uniform character. At some points the banks are elevated nearly sixty feet, with a sand beach crowned with maple. During certain periods, violent thunder storms rage upon it ; and the shore has been known to be covered with the skeletons of pigeons and gulls, which had been drowned in crossing at such times. Eagles, in great numbers, also frequent these shores, in order to glut themselves upon their dead bodies, which are thrown upon the beach. Here the bank stretches into a succession of pine-covered sand hills, and there it swells into verdant and picturesque landscapes, bearing a growth of forest trees, which indicate a soil of the greatest richness. The progress of emigration has increased the settlements, which were formerly the site of Indian lodges or small trading-houses, into important villages.

Among those places are Milwaukee and Chicago. The former of these ports was, in 1820, the site of a Potawatamie village, and but two American families resided there at that time ; whereas it is well known as a village of considerable population and wealth. The Milwaukee River is about sixty yards wide at the mouth. At this point is the city of Milwaukee. Chicago is two hundred and seventy-five miles from Green Bay, a city standing upon a rolling and beautiful prairie, and consisted during the same year of only twelve dwelling-houses, and a population of only about sixty. A garrison stands on the south side of Chicago Creek.

Michigan City, New Buffalo, and St. Joseph, at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, have sprung up within the last four years. Twenty miles up this river on the bank was the old French fort, St. Joseph, together with the missionary establishment. Along this part of the coast of Lake Michigan, the immediate shores exhibit a sterile prospect, although the interior abounds in extensive agricultural resources ; vast hillocks of sand, driven into varying heaps at every storm, cover the banks, scattered as they are with occasional pines and poplars. The principal rivers which enter into Lake Michigan from the peninsular portion of the State, are the

Grand, Moskegon, St. Joseph, and that which is called Pere Marquette.*

* The distance from Detroit to the mouth of the Ontonagon River, on Lake Superior, with the intermediate places of any prominence, is comprised in the following table, formed by Mr. Schoolcraft in his expedition into that region in 1820.

From Detroit to the entrance into Lake St.

Clair,	MILES 6	TOTAL MILES.
Grosse Point,	3	9
Mouth of Flint River, of St. Clair,	15	24
Mouth of St. Clair River,	8	32
Belle River at St. Clair settlement,	18	60
Black River,	9	69
Fort Gratiot,	2	71
White Rock,	55	126
Elm Creek,	10	136
Black River,	12	148
Point aux Barques,	12	160
Point aux Chenes, on Saganaw Bay,	18	178
Shawangunk Islands,	11	189
River aux Sable,	30	210
Thunder Bay Island,	40	250
Flat Rock Point, near Middle Island,	18	268
Presque Isle,	20	288
Lower end of the Island of Bois Blanc,	60	348
Michilimackinac,	12	360

From Michilimackinac to Detour,	40	
To the Sault de St. Marie,	45	85
Point aux Pins,	6	91

* This last river derives its name from the following fact, as related by Charlevoix. That illustrious missionary, Father Marquette, in travelling from Chicago to Michilimackinac, entered this river on the 8th day of May, 1675. Here he erected an altar, and said mass. He afterwards went a short distance from his companions to return thanks. They soon found him dead, and buried him on the bank. From that time, the river, says Charlevoix, has retired, out of respect to his remains, and opened for itself a new passage.

	MILES.	TOTAL.
Point Iroquois, entrance of Lake Superior,	9	100
Tonquamenon River,	15	115
Shelldrake River,	9	124
White Fish Point,	9	132
Two-Hearted River,	24	157
Grande Marrais, and Commencement of		
Grande Sables,	21	178
La Point La Grande Sables,	9	187
Pictured Rocks La Portaille,	12	199
Doric Rock and Miner's River,	6	205
Grand Island,	12	217
River aux Trains,	9	226
Isle aux Trains,	3	229
Laughing Fish River,	6	235
Chocolate River,	15	250
Dead River (in Presque Isle Bay,)	6	256
Granite Point,	6	262
Garlic River,	9	271
St. John's River,	15	286
Salmon Trout, or Burnt River,	12	298
Pine River,	6	304
Huron River (Huron Isles lie off this river,)	9	313
Point Abbaye, East Cape of Keweenaw Bay,	6	319
Mouth of Portage River,	21	340
Head of Portage River, through Keweenaw Lake,	24	364
Lake Superior, at the head of the Portage,	1	365
Little Salmon Trout River,	9	374
Graverods River (small, with flat rocks at its mouth,)	6	380
Riviere au Misiere,	12	392
Fire Steel River,	18	410
Ontonagon, or Copper Mine River,	6	416

Thus the whole distance from Detroit to the Ontonagon

River, which is situated near the north-west line of Michigan, following the indentations of the shores through the great chain of the north-western lakes, is about seven hundred and seventy-six miles, calculating the length of Lake Michigan at four hundred miles, the length of the coast of Michigan is nearly twelve hundred miles.

The long line of navigation which has been thus briefly described, constitutes the Lake coast of Michigan. Stretching along the east, the north, and the west ; connecting with the rising territory of Wisconsin the States of Illinois, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and New-York ; each having ports on the lakes, and constituting a vast extent of territory, ample in mineral and agricultural resources, and with innumerable streams reaching far into the interior ; the lake territory opens a long line of navigation to the remotest sections of the north-west, and will circulate vigor and commercial wealth along nearly the entire borders of the State of Michigan.*

* For the material of a great proportion of this chapter I am indebted to the valuable work of Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, entitled "Narrative of the Expedition under Governor Cass, in 1820, through the great chain of American lakes."

CHAPTER XV.

County of Wayne—Monroe—Macomb—St. Clair—Lenawee—Hillsdale—Branch—St. Joseph—Cass—Calhoun—Jackson—Berrien—Van Buren—Kalamazoo—Washtenaw—Oakland—Livingston—Ingham—Eaton—Barry—Alleghen—La Peer—Genessee—Shiawassee—Clinton—Ionia—Kent—Saginaw—Mackinaw—Chippewa—Production of the counties in 1837.

MICHIGAN is bounded on the north by Lake Superior ; on the south by Ohio and Indiana ; on the east by Lake Erie, Detroit River, Lake St. Clair, River St. Clair, and Lake Huron ; and its western boundary is formed by Lake Michigan and the territory of Wisconsin.

The County of Wayne is bordered by the Detroit River, and its seat of justice is Detroit. The north-eastern part of the county, included in the towns of Hamtramck, Detroit, and Springwells, is low, level, and but poorly supplied with water, although it is occasionally broken by marshes and wet prairies. The towns of Nankin and Plymouth are watered by the Rouge and its branches. These afford valuable water-power, which has been improved by the erection of grist-mills and saw-mills. The soil of the town of Nankin is somewhat rolling, consisting of sand, loam, and clay ; and is heavily timbered with the white and black ash, white and black oak, beech and sugar-maple. The middle is comprised of plains and openings of a light soil. The soil of Plymouth is rolling, and contains, beside the timber which has been mentioned, thrifty groves of the black walnut. The Huron, a clear and rapid stream, flows through a town of the same name in this county, bordered by high banks and sloping glades. A greater part of this town is destitute of streams ; the soil is rich, and easy of tillage. The eastern part is comprised of oak openings and plains, intermingled with groves of

dense timber, broken by a swamp, a wet or dry prairie. The south part is timbered with white and black ash, white-oak, beech, and maple, with occasionally a white wood. The south-west corner is low land, and contains a large wet prairie. Brownstown is not well watered, and exhibits oak openings, plains and prairies, intermingled with groves of heavy timber. The south-eastern part is level, excepting at the mouth of the Huron River. It is watered by Muddy and Brownstown Creek. Monguagon is situated on Detroit River. This township is fertile, and has a good quarry of limestone. It embraces Grosse Isle. Dearborn is a beautiful township. The village of Dearbornville contains the United States arsenal; and a large amount of cannon and ammunition are here stored for the defence of the State. Detroit, the largest city in Michigan, now contains a population of more than ten thousand; and a polished and agreeable society. Many of the houses are of brick. A general thoroughfare for the travel of the north-west, it is, during the proper season, almost filled with emigrants from the different parts of the United States. The County of Wayne contains the towns of Brownstown, with a population of 846; Canton, 1050; Dearborn, 1317; Detroit, 8273; Ecorse, 709; Greenfield, 897; Hamtramck, 1772; Huron, 481; Livonia, 1076; Monquagon, 404; Nankin, 1160; Plymouth, 2246; Redford, 1021; Romulus, 389; Springwells, 960; Van Buren, 799. The whole constitutes an aggregate of 23,400. About fifty steam-boats stop at Detroit, besides vessels amounting to a considerable tonnage.

The County of Monroe is bounded on the east by Lake Erie. This county is well watered. The north-eastern part is low, level, and heavily timbered; while the southern part is rolling land, alternated by tracts of heavy timber, oak openings, and prairies. The soil is generally very fertile. The towns are, Ash, containing a population of 1011; Bedford, 431; Erie, 999; Exeter, 156; Frenchtown, 1503; Ida, 200; La Salle, 826; London, 456; Milan, 270; Monroe, 2795; Raisinville, 614; Summerfield, 1128; Whiteford, 257. Total, 10,646. This county is watered principally by the River

Raisin, a serpentine stream which flows into Lake Erie. The prominent village is Monroe, a settlement extending along the banks of the River Raisin, containing several handsome pieces of architecture. Among these are three handsome churches and a court-house, whose cost is estimated to be about 40,000 dollars. The village is about three miles from the mouth of the river. Many of the population of Monroe County, who are distinguished for their energy and enterprise, are French. A ship canal has been commenced from the mouth of the river to the village; and a rail-road is now in operation from Lake Erie to that point.

The County of Macomb is comprised of rolling land in the western part, occasionally broken by hills, but variegated by oak openings, plains, and prairies; while the north-eastern and western part is level, and heavily timbered. The plains are remarkably free from undergrowth, and the soil is highly productive. It is watered by the Clinton River, a beautiful stream, which with its branches supplies water-power, fertilizes the soil and beautifies the landscape. Its seat of justice is Mount Clement, a picturesque village, which lies four and a half miles from Lake St. Clair. Its towns are, Armada, with a population of 1001; Bruce, 889; Clinton, 1193; Harrison, 502; Hickory, 249; Jefferson, 523; Lenox, 234; Macomb, 736; Orange, 297; Ray, 786; Shelby, 1153; Washington, 1329; and the aggregate population is 8892.

The County of St. Clair lies in its eastern line upon the River St. Clair and Lake Huron. The face of this county is level, although the eastern and southern parts are generally undulating, heavily timbered and fertile. The northern and western parts of the county are of a comparatively light and sandy soil, interspersed with swamps, lowlands, and groves of tamerack. Large tracts of pine timber abound here, sometimes intermingled with spruce and white cedar. Some of the most extensive saw-mills in the territory are found here; and a large quantity of boards are exported from this county. It is watered by Black, Belle, and Pine Rivers; and the manufactured timber can be exported by water from this county to numerous points upon the lakes. Palmer, a thriv-

ing village, founded by an enterprising gentleman of that name, is the county-seat. It stands upon the banks of the River St. Clair, and is fast increasing in population. The towns in this county are, China, containing a population of 603 ; Clay, 394 ; Clyde, 339 ; Columbus, 85 ; Cottrelville, 520 ; Ira, 202 ; Lexington, 205 ; Port-Huron, 824 ; St. Clair, 501 ; and the aggregate amount is 3673.

The County of Lenawee abounds, in its northern part, with oak openings, burr-oak plains, and prairies ; and its southern part is heavily timbered land. The county-seat is Tecumseh, a beautiful village, situated upon a rolling country upon the north branch of the River Raisin, which, with its tributaries, waters the eastern section. The towns are, Blissfield, containing a population of 559 ; Cambridge, 523 ; Dover, 680 ; Fairfield, 203 ; Franklin, 989 ; Hudson, Lenawee, 1151 ; Logan, 1962 ; Mason, 1,111 ; Medina, 420 ; Ogden, 198 ; Palmyra, 898 ; Raisin, 1076 ; Rollin, 508 ; Rome, 826 ; Seneca, 431 ; Tecumseh, 2464 ; Woodstock, 541. Total, 14,540.

The County of Hillsdale consists, in the northern part, of oak-openings of a good quality ; but the southern is heavily timbered with sugar-maple, white-wood, beech, and black-walnut. The St. Joseph's of Lake Michigan, the St. Joseph's of Maumee, and the Grand River, all head in this county, and variegate it in a beautiful manner. Indeed, the whole county is well supplied with water. The principal towns are, Adams, with a population of 279 ; Allen, 353 ; La Fayette, 685 ; Florida, 156 ; Litchfield, 314 ; Moscow, 496 ; Pittsford, 550 ; Reading, 277 ; Scipio, 469 ; Somerset, 441 ; Wheatland, 729. Total, 4729.

The County of Branch. The southern part of this county is heavily wooded with black-walnut, white-wood, and lynn. The north-eastern part of this county contains a number of ancient forts. It abounds also with oak-openings, occasionally broken by prairies. The towns are, Batavia, containing a population of 357 ; Bronson, 635 ; Coldwater, 960 ; Elizabeth, 177 ; Gerard, 448 ; Gilead, 184 ; Ovid, 209 ; Quincy, 569 ; Sherwood, 217 ; Union, 260. Total, 4016.

The County of St. Joseph is of remarkable fertility, and beautiful in the face of its scenery. The face of the country is rolling in a moderate degree, consisting of oak-openings, burr-oak plains, and prairies; the principal of which are Sturges, Nottawa Sepee, and White Pigeon. The climate is mild, and the land is watered by the purest streams. The ordinary mode of cultivating these prairies is to plough up the soil and drop in the corn, which is covered by the next furrow. From thirty to fifty bushels of corn are thus produced by the acre. The St. Joseph, with its transparent and rapid current, floats through this county along banks of heavy forests, burr-oak groves, and fertile prairies; furnishing abundant water-power. Hog Creek, Pigeon, Portage, and Crooked Rivers are its branches; and afford great hydraulic power, which is much improved. The towns are, Bucks, with a population of 782; Colon, 368; Constantine, 842; Florence, 440; Flowerfield, 406; Leonidas, 374; Mottville, 497; Nottawa, 713; Sherman, 1043; White Pigeon, 872. Total, 6337.

The County of Cass is somewhat similar to that of St. Joseph, yet more level, and bearing a growth of oak, ash, elm, maple, cherry, hickory, black and white walnut; besides other kinds. The country is free from undergrowth, and one may ride through a greater part of the county with a coach and six; although a wide belt of heavily timbered land runs along the banks of the Dowagiac River. This county abounds with several beautiful prairies. Among these the principal are Four-mile, Beardsley's, Townsend's, McKenny's, La Grange, Pokagon and Young's; and numerous others of more limited extent. Lakes of the purest water are scattered over this county; and the streams, which are transparent and rapid, run over beds of limestone or glittering sands, and, as well as the lakes, abound with fish. The county-seat is Cassopolis. Edwardsburgh, situated upon a beautiful and sloping tract, commands a view of Beardsley's Prairie, of four miles in extent, and the calm surface of a crystal sheet of water called "Pleasant Lake." In this lake you can see the bottom, where the water is fifteen feet deep. The towns are, Calvin, with a population of 201;

Howard, 366 ; Jefferson, 395 ; La Grange, 699 ; Mason, 224 ; Ontwa, 1012 ; Penn, 693 ; Pohagon, 506 ; Porter, 442 ; Silver Creek, 108 ; Volinia, 427 ; Wayne, 223. Total, 5296.

The County of Calhoun is well watered by the Kalamazoo and St. Joseph Rivers, and their branches. The first of these rivers is navigable for boats from Lake Michigan to its forks near the county-line of Jackson, and affords a great quantity of water-power. The county of Calhoun abounds with the richest tracts of burr-oak groves, springing from a mellow soil, while the south-west furnishes a portion of pine timber. The county-seat is Marshall, a city which exhibits a moral, intelligent, and enterprising population. A church has recently been erected here, which would rival in taste the finest forms of eastern architecture ; and manufacturing establishments have been erected upon the clear waters of the Kalamazoo, whose gentle current flows only to administer delight, and spread its bounties to the wants of man. The towns are, Albion, with a population of 773 ; Athens, 288 ; Burlington, 178 ; Convis, 170 ; Eckford, 530 ; Homer, 1019 ; Marengo, 737 ; Marshall, 1801 ; Milton, 1632 ; Sheridan, 353 ; Telionsha, 278. Total, 7960.

The County of Jackson, in the western part is undulating, and bears a growth of burr-oaks and white-oak openings, intermingled with prairies, well-watered by limpid springs ; while the northern-eastern part is heavily timbered, and broken by marshes and small lakes. The soil, however, is fertile, and particularly adapted to meadow. The Grand River flows through this county, and is navigable in small boats and canoes to Lake Michigan. The county-seat is Jacksonburgh, a handsome village, situated in a rolling country, and containing several thriving manufacturing establishments. The towns are, Concord, East Portage, Grass Lake, Hanover, Jackson, Leoni, Liberty, Napoleon, Parma, Rives, Sandstone, Spring Arbor, and West Portage ; the whole containing a population of 8702.

The County of Berrien is comprised, in a great measure, of heavily timbered land, watered by small creeks ; and also

of barrens, a light although not unproductive soil, covered with a stunted growth of white and black oak. The soil is a loose and black sand of great richness, bearing a growth of oak, poplar, ash, lynn, beech, hickory, elm, and maple. The western bounds of this county are washed by Lake Michigan; and the St. Joseph River with its branches, Dowagiac and Pawpaw Rivers, here flow into that lake at St. Joseph, a thriving village, which has been founded at the junction of the River St. Joseph and Lake Michigan. The county-seat is Berrien. Niles is also a handsome village, which is situated above the junction of the Dowagiac and the St. Joseph. The towns are, Bainbridge, containing a population of 99; Berrien, 496; Bertrand, 1262; Buchanan, 172; New Buffalo, 199; Niles, 1497; Oronoko, 248; Royalton, 175; St. Joseph, 596; Weesaw, 116. Total, 4863.

The County of Van Buren contains a great proportion of heavily timbered land, and is watered by the Pawpaw River and the south branch of the Black River. It is watered by numerous lakes, and broken by a number of prairies. The towns are, Antwerp, containing a population of 232; Clinch, 108; Covington, 183; Decatur, 224; La Fayette, 248; Lawrence, 202; South Haven, 65. Total, 1262.

The County of Kalamazoo is generally undulating or rolling, comprised of burr-oak openings intermingled with rich dry prairies and heavily timbered land. The soil is generally either a black sand or a rich loam, and in the south-eastern corner there is a large tract wooded with sugar-maple. This county also has a number of prairies, the principal of which are *Gull Prairie* and *Prairie Ronde*. Gull Prairie is near a beautiful and clear lake of the same name, about four miles long, and abounding with fish. Near this prairie there is a creek, which affords uncommon hydraulic advantages. Prairie Ronde is in the south-western part of the county, is four miles wide, surrounded with woodland; and contains near its centre, a grove of timber, consisting of maple, black-walnut, and hickory, of about a mile in diameter. The Kalamazoo winds its grateful stream through the north-eastern part of this county. The county-seat is Bronson, a

small but handsome village, situated upon that river. The towns are Brady, containing a population of 1292; Comstock, 1383; Cooper, 386; Kalamazoo, 1373; Pavilion, 548; Prairie Ronde, 665; Richland, 720. Total, 6367.

The County of Washtenaw, in the face of the scenery, is gently rolling, and the soil is composed of a black sand, loam, or clay. Alternated by prairies, oak openings, and tracts of gloomy forest, it spreads out a scene of the greatest variety to the traveller. The red and the black oak, the beech, the walnut, white wood, the bass, elm, butternut, and maple, constitute its forest trees, together with other kinds that grow in this region. The county is watered by the River Huron of Lake Erie, which runs through its centre, and is navigable for boats and rafts to the lake; the head waters of the Shiawassee run through the north. The rivers Raisin and Saline water the southern part of the county. Ann Arbor is the county-seat, a village surrounding a green plain, containing many handsome stores, dwelling-houses, and manufacturing establishments. This place is established as the site of the University of Michigan. Ypsilanti is another thriving village, which is situated upon the River Huron; it contains several mills. Dexter is another pleasant village on the same stream, containing several manufacturing establishments. This place was founded by the enterprise of Samuel Dexter, the son of the distinguished lawyer of Boston. The towns in this county are Ann Arbor, containing a population of 2944; Augusta, 559; Bridgewater, 923; Dexter, 596; Freedom, 795; Lima, 895; Lodi, 1063; Lyndon, 361; Manchester, 805; Northfield, 793; Pitt, 1208; Salem, 1354; Saline, 1130; Scio, 1442; Sharon, 782; Superior, 1378; Sylvan, 480; York, 1196; Ypsilanti, 2280; Webster, 832. Total, 21,817.

The County of Oakland, in the south-eastern part, consists of timbered land, wooded with black and white walnut, white, red, and black oak, with some plains interspersed with marshes. Oak openings and timbered land constitute the township of Bloomfield. Pontiac consists of oak openings, and Oakland is timbered, and possesses a rich soil. The north part has plains and prairies of a good quality. The county is

studded with the clearest lakes. The Clinton, the Huron, and the Rouge, interlocking in the different parts, extend their branches throughout its different parts, and fertilize its timbered forests and sloping plains. Pontiac and Oakland are watered by the Clinton River, Point, and Stony Creek, possessing great hydraulic advantages. This county possesses a great amount of water power considering its level surface. The towns are, Addison, which contains a population of 343; Avon, 1289; Bloomfield, 1485; Brandon, 263; Commerce, 747; Farmington, 1724; Groveland, 664; Highland, 440; Independence, 668; Lyon, 1051; Milford, 667; Novi, 1335; Oakland, 803; Orion, 593; Oxford, 384; Pontiac, 1700; Rose, 202; Royal Oak, 825; Southfield, 956; Springfield, 403; Troy, 1439; Waterford, 828; West Bloomfield, 1004; White Lake, 363. Total, 20,176.

The County of Livingston is heavily timbered, and somewhat broken by lakes. It comprises the town of Byron, containing a population of 317; Deerfield, 369; Genoa, 361; Green Oak, 1435; Hamburg, 490; Hartland, 404; Howell, 442; Marion, 202; Putnam, 367; Unadilla, 642; Total, 5029.

The County of Ingham is also heavily timbered, and but sparsely populated. It is watered by the Grand River. The towns are, Aurelius, Ingham, and Stockbridge, containing a population of 822.

The County of Eaton is also heavily timbered, and is watered by the Thorn Apple and the Grand River. It contains the towns of Bellevue, which has a population of 438; Eaton, 330; Vermontville, 145. Total, 913.

The County of Barry is studded with numerous lakes, and is watered by the Thorn Apple, and has a population of 512, all in the town of Barry.

The County of Allegan is a beautiful tract of land, studded with lakes and prairies, and watered by the Kalamazoo River. The principal town is Allegan, on that stream, which contains several manufacturing establishments. The towns are, Allegan, containing a population of 621; Newark, 190; Otsego, 341; and Plainfield, 317. Total, 1469.

The County of La Peer is watered by the Flint River. It contains the towns of Atlas, Bristol, Hadley, La Peer, Lo-
mond, and Beckfield ; which comprise an aggregate popula-
tion of 2,602.

The County of Genessee is watered by the Flint River. Its towns are, Argentine, with a population of 434 ; Flint, 1288 ; Grand Blanc, 691 ; Mundy, 234 ; Vienna, 107. To-
tal, 2754.

The County of Shiawassee exhibits a rolling soil, cover-
ed with oak openings and heavy groves of timber. The
middle and south-eastern part are watered by the Shiawassee,
a beautiful and meandering stream, which is navigable a great
distance ; and the north-eastern part is fertilized by Swartz's
Creek, the Flint, and Mistegayock rivers ; and the south-
west part by the head branches of the Grand and Looking-
Glass rivers. This county contains the towns of Burns,
Owasso, Shiawassee, and Vernon ; the aggregate population
of which is 1184.

The County of Clinton is watered by the Maple and
Looking-Glass Rivers, and contains the townships of Dewitt
and Watertown. The aggregate population is 529.

The County of Ionia is comprised of heavily timbered
land, broken by prairies and oak openings. The Grand Ri-
ver flows through its whole length. The principal towns
are, Ionia, with a population of 511 ; and Maple, 517 ; and
the aggregate population of the county is 1028.

The County of Kent is watered by the Grand River and
the Thorn Apple. A considerable portion of the soil is timber-
ed land, sometimes broken by burr-oak plains, white oak open-
ings, and prairies. The principal settlement is at the Grand
Rapids, which is situated on a Rapids of a mile long. Here
is a considerable village, with large saw-mills, surrounded by
beautiful burr-oak groves and prairies. Gypsum abounds in
large quantity upon Gypsum Creek ; and several salt springs
are near this place. From the Grand Rapids to Granville,
the country abounds in oak openings and extensive tracts of
burr-oak groves. Granville is a place of considerable im-
portance, and has several large saw mills. The towns are,

Kent, containing a population of 1660 ; and Byron, 362. Total, 2022.

The County of Saginaw is eminently favorable for agriculture. It is watered by the Saginaw, a river navigable for sloops twenty miles to the village which bears the same name. The town of Saginaw has a population of 920 ; and the aggregate population is 920.

The County of Mackinaw is situated upon the northern section of the peninsula of Michigan, and is not favorable to agriculture. Holmes, in this county, contains a population of 664. Total population, 664.

The County of Chippewa is but little settled. The town of St. Marie contains the main part of the population. The aggregate population is 366.

From the spirit of speculation which has heretofore prevailed throughout the State, too little attention has been paid to agriculture. It is perceived, however, that the mere exchange of titles to property and paper promises, has tended but little to develope the substantial resources of the soil ; and that here, as well as elsewhere, labor is the only true source of wealth. Accordingly it will be found that the energies of the population, which have been diverted from that branch of industry to the purchase and sale of " paper cities," will be hereafter be employed in production. The subjoined Table, although probably not entirely accurate, has been returned to the office of the Secretary of State, and is the best census which we have for that year.

PRODUCTION OF MICHIGAN IN 1837.

Counties.	Grist Mills.	Saw Mills.	Card machines.	Cloth dressing shops.	Distilleries.	Merchants.	Bushels of wheat.	Bushels of rye.	Bushels of corn.	Bushels of oats	Bushels of buck wheat.	Pounds of flax.	Pounds of hemp.	Neat stock.	Horses.	Sheep.	Hogs.
Allegan	1	17				17											5,728
Barry	5	2				58	26,101	190	60,941	28,849	1,153	995		2,950	927	1,089	3,855
Berrien	4	10	1			11	27,612	40	34,236	44,115	2,908	591	10	2,761	518	176	6,784
Branch	4	20				32	105,012	66	52,476	69,993	3,419	760	14	6,091	1,209	882	6,943
Calhoun	5	19	1			19	54,173	640	90,338	80,389	1,515	1,762	100	3,455	1,907	2,677	11
Cass						3									30	39	179
Chippewa		2				3	3,305		1,715	3,955	22			415	25	53	347
Clinton	1	5				2	3,815		2,655	2,484	95			560		4	
Genesee	1	13				16											
Hillsdale	1	15				14	42,661	160	28,524	32,610	3,322	512		2,971	403	325	4,019
Ingham							2,593		1,811	1,720	474	100		530	30	17	406
Ionia	2	3				5	4,287	60	3,335	5,055	67			693	80	34	672
Jackson	5	21				17	162,599	10	63,191	93,058	3,012	2,702	400	14,493	971	839	16,465
Kalamazoo	3	21			2	34	103,787	1,060	80,964	197,807	2,059	865		5,920	1,449	1,221	8,469
Kent	2	15				10	2,620		6,534	20,787				899	234		680
La Peer	3	11				8	14,976	30	1,877	6,000	340	560		110	130		
Lenawee	14	13	2	1	1	63	131,508	3,024	126,725	181,935	6,281	9,619		10,310	1,157	2,505	16,527
Livingston	3	11				9	40,835	10	19,483	19,332	2,478			4,375	421	369	4,118

PRODUCTION OF MICHIGAN IN 1837.

Counties.	Grist Mills.	Saw Mills.	Card machines.	Cloth dressing shops.	Distilleries.	Merchants.	Bushels of wheat.	Bushels of rye.	Bushels of corn.	Bushels of oats	Bushels of buck wheat.	Pounds of flax.	Pounds of hemp.	Neat stock.	Horses.	Sheep.	Hogs.
Mackinac	6	1				9	85,028	14,036	40,240	61,232	13,061	19,493		122	72		25
Macomb	7	25	2	1		20	27,256	1,019	42,741	50,242	11,731	2,891		6,899	1,555	5,365	8,286
Monroe	17	25	1	1		42								5,734	1,220	1,221	5,751
Oakland	17	40	8	6	3	38											
Ottawa		3				10								92			29
Saginaw	1	5				5	2,288		4,650	1,220	360			643	150		547
Shiawassee	1	4				2	2,961	40	1,640	2,313	314	405		941	96	81	1,222
St. Clair	4	30				22	6,316	825	4,462	9,380	931	150		1,689	324	248	1,333
St. Joseph	8	13			2	27											
Van Buren																	
Washtenaw	11	36	3	2	2	55	164,663	734	122,989	203,871	11,480	2,423		15,732	1,726	5,412	16,640
Wayne	5	27	5	1		244											
Total production	114	433	23	12	16	795	1,014,896	21,944	791,427	1,116,910	61,022	43,826		524	89,610	14,059	22,684
																	109,096*

* For this census I am indebted to the Secretary of State, who permitted me to inspect the papers in his office. It is believed that the crop of wheat during the year 1838 will yield a surplus of more than one million of bushels for exportation.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Population of Michigan—The particular character of the population—
Amount of Population in 1837—Character of the Indians—Their number.

It has been remarked that emigration to the west, from the different sections of the east, has generally been confined within their several parallels of latitude. By consequence, the mass of the population of Michigan is comprised of emigrants from New England and New-York. New Jersey and Pennsylvania have each, it is true, contributed their quota; and the merry plains of England, Ireland, and the German forests, have sent a portion of their population to this as well as the other States. The local character of the State, constituted of these different elements, is now, therefore, not altogether formed. It is undergoing the process of amalgamation. The sober, careful, and straight-forward perseverance of the New England States is so mixed with the more daring enterprise of New-York, as to give vast impulse to the character of the people, and momentum to the projects which necessarily belong to the rapid progress of a new country. One fact, however, is obvious,—the population of Michigan exhibits uncommon practical intelligence as well as enterprise. Removing from the eastern States, where the avenues of wealth and distinction are occupied, to a wider field, where they can vest their enterprise, it is clear that the energy which has led them to emigrate will induce a great degree of activity in a country where every thing is to be done, and comparatively few to do any thing. The people of the State, now amounting to more than one hundred and seventy-five thousand, collected in the cities along the frontier, and scattered through

the wilderness, in their log-houses, or along the banks of the streams in the new villages which are just springing up, or in the cottages of the habitants or old French peasantry, as merchants, manufacturers, farmers, mechanics, and professional men, employed in building villages, clearing woods, draining marshes, establishing cities, and building roads, is compounded of New England, New-York, and foreign elements. The original white colonists are altogether comprised in the Canadian French peasantry, who were sent over when the country was under French jurisdiction, and they are, for the most part, engaged in agriculture.

The emigrants to Michigan find uncommon means and motives to exertion in this country. Forests are to be cleared, fields are to be cultivated, roads are to be made, streams are to be explored, deepened, and navigated ; cities to be built ; rail-roads and canals to be constructed ; and frames of civil policy to be organized. They are called upon, as founders of the country, to co-operate in effecting these works. The fact that there is no argument like necessity to stimulate a man to great achievements, is felt in that energy of mind which has brought so many emigrants of this character into the State. They have found the field at the east occupied by men who have grown old in talent and influence ; and their own ambition and indigence perhaps have inclined them to seek out fresher sources of aggrandizement in the broad and growing region of a new country. In such a state of things all classes find ample scope for the exercise of their industry.

It is manifest that no man would venture upon the hardships of a wilderness unless he was backed by considerable resolution and perseverance. The consequence is, that the State of Michigan is rapidly filling up with an active class of people from the east, who have left the Atlantic frontier to improve their fortunes, or perhaps from that restless and migratory character which belongs to this country. Men of opulence stay at home. The men who are, from necessity as well as education, habituated to shoulder the burdens of life, are the emigrants to a country where these burdens are to be endured. Wealth and honor, therefore, are the grand motives of

emigration. Speculation and politics are the reigning spirits of the times, and they pervade all classes of the population. This results from the actual position of the State. It abounds with vast undeveloped resources; and the tide of emigration, which is ever rushing into the State, is bearing upon its bosom new sources of wealth. Every farmer, who comes into the country with his family and household goods collected under the canvass covered wagon, drawn by the oxen which are to plough his soil; every artizan who is to build a house, a boat, or a mill; and every settler who erects a log-house on the land or clears an acre for cultivation, tends to advance the solid value of property. Land, therefore, is the staple article of exchange, whether it is denominated farms or village lots. The habitudes of thought connected with the constantly advancing value of real property; the custom of "*dickering*," makes almost every individual a speculator. One cannot, therefore, fail to be surprised at the accurate financial knowledge which seems to be disseminated through all classes of society. Every body seems to know what every thing is worth, and what it will sell for. The consequences of the policy of the Bank of the United States are discussed in almost as enlightened a manner in the solitary log-cabin upon the shores of Lake Michigan as in the New-York Merchants' Exchange. There is a spirit in the progress of the country which doubtless results from its proximity to New-York, the facilities of communication, and the great amount of travel through all its parts by strangers from the different sections of the United States. Magnificent projects are conceived, and even executed here, by men whose exertions, had they remained in the older States, would have been limited to the few paternal acres which their forefathers ploughed before them from immemorial ages.

The character of the people of Michigan is in a very wide sense generous and republican. It is entirely independent in thought and action. In the New England States, the land of strong minds, honest hearts, and brave arms, the social system is settled; society is divided and subdivided into clearly defined castes. Prescribed forms of opinion, strengthened by

age and influence, are marked out ; and the youth are confined to the shadows of the cloister ; large masses of wealth are accumulated and hoarded up. Here it is far otherwise. The people find themselves the occupants of a wide and bounteous soil, and in a community which is organized by themselves. The spirit of our institutions seems to impress them with a conviction of their own independence. They are bound down by no prescriptive forms of opinion, because no prescriptive forms of opinion exist. Wealth is so easily accumulated, that it does not possess that social influence which is discernible in the older States. Throughout the whole extent of the State there is a commonwealth of association, because there is a commonwealth of action. The settler in his log-cabin, or the mechanic in his workshop, is actuated by a spirit of sturdy independence, which holds nothing above him but " God and the laws." He has no reverence for stars, or garters, or crowns. While the minds of men have become liberalized by contact with large interests, the circle of enterprise is widened in the same proportion. To build a city, is deemed a labor of less importance than formerly to construct a house. Space is abridged ; and a journey of two hundred miles on horseback through the wilderness, is considered a fourfold less labor than was the same distance, twenty years ago, in the eastern States.

Although the colleges of the east have doubtless sent out a great number of professional men into Michigan, as well as the other western States, literature is very far from being the characteristic spirit of the people. They, in fact, seem to have little confidence in that theoretic knowledge which men acquire from books, and great confidence in that practical information which is derived from the study of men and things ; consequently a greater share of practical business men are found in Michigan than in most of the States,—men, who are unacquainted with the classic literature of Greece or Rome, but with human nature and the facts about them. In all matters of religion and government they are liberal and independent. Doubtless large masses of ignorance prevail in the more remote sections of the State, which give ground to fana-

ticism ; but common sense is more frequently the guide in matters of religion. To all arguments which would show the inequality in men, they would interpose that wide doctrine of the declaration of Independence, which declares "that all men are born free and equal." Throughout the whole range of enterprize, the constantly advancing progress of the country, and the motives to exertion, which are continually pressing upon the mind, induce a constant stimulus to great excitement ; and the labors which the emigrant encounters, and the subjects with which he thus comes in contact, necessarily bring to his mind an amount of knowledge, which could be scarcely acquired where the foundations of the social system have been already constructed and settled. If the literature and the blandishments of an older form of society are wanting, there is a counterbalancing advantage in that freshness and vigor of utilitarian pursuit, which seems to engross the mind.

The French are the offspring of the colonies which emigrated during the possession of the country by France, and also the scattered settlers, who have from time to time crossed over from Canada to the American shores. These are spread along the banks of the principal streams upon the Michigan frontier, and their houses border the Detroit River for a long distance. They may be known from their antique construction, and the picket fences which surround their farms. The French population of Michigan are a quiet and courteous race of men, who are content to live upon the domain of their ancestors without exercising any considerable degree of enterprize. From long connexion with the Indians, the French population in the interior seem to have become somewhat incorporated with them in sympathies and pursuits ; and you see many in the remote villages arrayed in a demi-savage dress. Some have intermarried with the savages, and not a few possess in their veins an intermixture of Indian blood. In the advancing progress of the country, their lands, which are of the most eligible location, and which have also been confirmed to them by the laws of the United States, are the sites of important towns. They are distrustful of the whites,

and are not generally anxious to sell their property, although many have been made rich by the advanced value of real estate.

The following is the population of Michigan according to the census of 1837.

CENSUS OF MICHIGAN IN OCTOBER, 1837.

ALLEGAN COUNTY.		BRANCH COUNTY.	
Townships.			
Allegan	621	Batavia	357
Newark	190	Bronson	635
Otsego	341	Cold water	960
Plainfield	317	Elizabeth	177
		Gerard	448
		Goliad	184
		Ovid	209
		Quincy	569
		Sherwood	217
		Union	260
	Total, 1,469		
BARRY COUNTY.			
Township.			
Barry	512		
	Total, 512		
		CALHOUN COUNTY.	
BERRIEN COUNTY.			
		Albion	773
		Athens	288
Bainbridge	99	Burlington	378
Berrien	496	Convis	170
Bertrand	1,262	Eckford	530
Buchanan	172	Homer	1,019
New Buffalo	199	Marengo	737
Niles	1,497	Marshall	1,801
Oronoko	248	Milton	1,632
Royalton	175	Sheridan	353
St. Joseph	599	Tekousha	278
Weesaw	116		
			Total, 7,960
	Total, 4,863		

CASS COUNTY.

Calvin	201
Howard	366
Jefferson	395
La Grange	699
Mason	224
Ontwa	1,012
Penn	693
Pokagon	506
Porter	442
Silver Creek	108
Volinia	427
Wayne	223
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Total,	5,296

CHIPPEWA COUNTY.

St. Marie	366
<hr/>	
Total,	366

CLINTON COUNTY.

Dewitt
Watertown

Total, 529

EATON COUNTY.

Bellevue	438
Eaton	330
Vermontville	145
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Total,	913

GENESSEE COUNTY.

Argentine	434
Flint	1,288
Grand Blanc	691
Mundy	234
Vienna	107
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Total,	2,754

HILLSDALE COUNTY.

Adams	279
Allen	353
Fayette	685
Florida	156
Litchfield	314
Moscow	496
Pittsford	550
Reading	277
Scipio	469
Somerset	441
Wheatland	729
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Total,	4,729

INGHAM COUNTY.

Aurelius
Ingham
Stockbridge

Total, 822

IONIA COUNTY.

Ionia	511
Maple	517
<hr/>	
Total,	1,028

JACKSON COUNTY.		Bristol	
		Hadley	
Concord		La Peer	
East Portage		Lomond	
Grass Lake		Beckfield	
Hanover			
Jackson		Total, 2,602	
Leoni			
Liberty		LENAWEE COUNTY.	
Napoleon			
Parma		Blissfield	559
Rives		Cambridge	523
Sandstone		Dover	680
Spring Arbor		Fairfield	203
West Portage		Franklin	989
		Hudson	
	Total, 8,702	Lenawee	1,151
		Logan	1,962
KALAMAZOO COUNTY.		Macon	1,111
Brady	1,292	Medina	420
Comstock	1,383	Ogden	198
Cooper	386	Palmyra	898
Kalamazoo	1,373	Raisin	1,076
Pavilion	548	Rollin	508
Prairie Ronde	665	Rome	826
Richland	720	Seneca	431
		Tecumseh	2,414
	Total, 6,367	Woodstock	541
KENT COUNTY.		Total, 14,540	
Byron	362		
Kent	1,660	LIVINGSTON COUNTY.	
	Total, 2,022	Byron	317
		Deerfield	369
LA PEER COUNTY.		Genoa	361
		Green Oak	1,435
Atlas		Hamburg	490

POPULATION. 303

Hartland	404	La Salle	826
Howell	442	London	456
Marion	202	Milan	270
Putnam	367	Monroe	2,795
Unadilla	642	Raisinville	614
	—	Summerfield	1,128
Total, 5,029		Whiteford	257

MACKINAW COUNTY.

Total, 10,646

Holmes	664
Total,	<u>664</u>

OAKLAND COUNTY.

Addison	343
Avon	1,289
Bloomfield	1,485
Brandon	263
Commerce	747
Farmington	1,724
Groveland	664
Highland	440
Independence	668
Lyon	1,051
Milford	667
Novi	1,335
Oakland	803
Orion	593
Oxford	384
Pontiac	1,700
Rose	202
Royal Oak	825
Southfield	956
Springfield	403
Troy	1,439
Waterford	828
West Bloomfield	1,004
White Lake	363

MACOMB COUNTY.

Armada	1,001
Bruce	889
Clinton	1,193
Harrison	502
Hickory	249
Jefferson	523
Lenox	234
Macomb	736
Orange	297
Bay	786
Shelby	1,153
Washington	1,329
	<hr/>
	Total, 8,892

MONROE COUNTY.

Ash	1,011
Bedford	431
Erie	999
Exeter	156
Frenchtown	1,503
Ida	200

Total, 20,176.

OTTAWA COUNTY.		Florence	449
		Flowerfield	406
Total, 628		Leonidas	374
		Mottville	497
SAGINAW COUNTY.		Nottawa	713
		Sherman	1,043
Saginaw	920	White Pigeon	872
Total, 920		Total, 6,337	

SHIAWASSEE COUNTY.		VAN BUREN COUNTY.	
Burns		Antwerp	232
Owasso		Clinch	108
Shiawassee		Covington	183
Vernon		Decatur	224
		La Fayette	248
Total, 1,184		Lawrence	202
		South Haven	65
ST. CLAIR COUNTY.		Total, 1,262	

China	603		
Clay	394	WASHTENAW COUNTY.	
Clyde	339		
Columbus	85	Ann Arbor	2,994
Cottrelville	520	Augusta	559
Ira	202	Bridgewater	923
Lexington	205	Dexter	596
Port Huron	824	Freedom	795
St. Clair	501	Lima	895
		Lodi	1,063
Total, 3,673		Lyndon	361
		Manchester	805
ST. JOSEPH COUNTY.		Northfield	793
		Pitt	1,208
Bucks	782	Salem	1,354
Colon	368	Saline	1,130
Constantine	842	Scio	1,442

POPULATION. 305

Sharon	782	Ecorse	709
Superior	1,378	Greenfield	897
Sylvan	480	Hamtramch	1,772
York	1,197	Huron	481
Ypsilanti	2,280	Livonia	1,076
Webster	832	Monguagon	404

—	Nankin	1,160
Total, 21,817	Plymouth	2,246
	Redford	1,021

WAYNE COUNTY.

WAYNE COUNTY.		Romulus	389
		Springwells	990
Brownstown	846	Van Buren	799
Canton	1,050		
Dearborn	1,317		
Detroit	8,273		
		Total,	23,400

COLORED POPULATION.

Calhoun County	24	Wayne	228
Chippewa	3	Jackson	9
Mackinaw	1	Monroe	35
St. Joseph	4	Oakland	13
Washtenaw	62		
			<hr/> Total, 379

INDIANS TAXED.

Cass County	24
Chippewa	1
Genessee	2
	<hr/>
Total,	27

TOTAL WHITE POPULATION.

Allegan	1,469	Chippewa	366
Barry	512	Clinton	529
Berrien	4,863	Eaton	913
Branch	4,016	Genessee	2,754
Calhoun	7,960	Hillsdaie	4,729
Cass	5,296	Ingham	822

Ionia	1,028	Oakland	20,163
Jackson	8,693	Ottawa	628
Kalamazoo	6,367	Saginaw	920
Kent	2,022	Shiawassee	1,184
La Peer	2,602	St. Clair	3,673
Lenawee	14,540	St. Joseph	6,337
Livingston	5,029	Van Buren	1,262
Mackinaw	664	Washtenaw	21,817
Macomb	8,892	Wayne	23,400
Monroe	10,611		
Total white population,			174,369
Colored population,			379
Indians taxed,			27
Add for two townships not returned, say			425
Population, exclusive of Indians not taxed			175,000

The other class of people in Michigan are the Indians ; and they consist, for the most part, of mutilated fragments of tribes, which war and civilization have spared from the general decension of their race. They are comprised chiefly of the Ottawas, the Wyandots, the Potawatamies, the Menommies, and the Chippewas. The origin of this singular race has been the subject of voluminous discussion, but no certain conclusion has been yet established. The better opinion seems to be, that they are of Chinese or Tartar stock, and that they passed over to America from the peninsular portion of Kam-schatka across Bhering's Strait. This is confirmed by a similarity in language, mode of wearing the hair, and certain customs, between the savages of Asia and America. The savages are scattered throughout this wilderness in rude huts made of bark, and attached to poles, which are stuck in the ground for support. During the early periods of the country, before European manufactures were introduced, they dressed entirely from the skins of wild beasts,—the bear, the elk, the deer, or the buffalo, wrought with colored porcupines' quills, and tanned into considerable pliancy and neatness. Their shoes or mocasins were made from buffalo or deer skins, sometimes formed with the hair inside. Their ornaments were curiously cut out

from shells into beads, which were called *wampum*, and worn about their necks and suspended from their ears. The most distinguished warriors wore necklaces of bears' claws, and upon their heads the plumes of the war eagle. They adorned their hair with ornamented skins, and wore copper upon their breasts. Their weapons of war were hatchets and daggers of stone, and wooden war-clubs and bows made from the trees, and arrows barbed with flint. Pipes of clay or redstone were used both as a luxury and as symbols of peace. They navigated the streams in canoes of bark; and their domestic utensils were of the rudest form. Their food consisted of corn, which they cultivated, wild rice, fish, and the flesh of beasts.

Since the advancement of the whites, they have preserved the same general garb, but use a different material. They clothe themselves with blankets enclosed with a woollen or leathern girdle, in which is stuck a steel scalping knife or a tobacco pouch; leggins of red or blue cloth reach from the ankle above the knee, so as to leave the thigh bare. They have substituted the rifle and the steel tomahawk for the bow and the stone hatchet, and silver or tin ornaments for those of stone, shells, or copper; but in all their essential habits they are the same as when Jacques Cartier first ascended the St. Lawrence. The squaws generally wear blankets like the men; and leggins and moccasins, adorned with beads or porcupines' quills; but the whole of their persons are generally covered, with the exception of the head, upon which they wear hats. Their hair, which is smooth and glossy, is worn combed behind their ears. They often wear a calico frock inside of the blanket, which is covered upon the breast with silver broaches, or thin plates of the same metal in a circular or crescent form. Some of these medals are given to the chiefs both by the British and American Governments. These people are similar in their general traits to the savages of the other sections of the United States.

It would seem that the tribes of this region had accustomed themselves to migrations from remote points in the forest, and these migrations have been pretty accurately traced. In the

year 1649, when the Algonquin nations of the Ottawa River were nearly destroyed by the Iroquois, a portion of the Ottawas of that river, as well as a part of those who lived on the western shores of Lake Huron, accompanied by five hundred Hurons, constituting in all about one thousand, removed to the south-western shore of Lake Superior; and in 1671 the Potawatamies were settled on the island called Noquet, near the entrance of Green Bay. Forty years afterwards this last tribe migrated to Chicago, and the river St. Joseph upon the southern bank of Lake Michigan; occupying those lands which had before been held by the Miamis in 1670. About the year 1671, the Ottawas of Lake Superior had removed to the vicinity of Michilimackinac, and finally retired to their ancient hunting-grounds on the west side of Lake Huron, sending back word to the Miamies that they were "tired of fish and must have meat." In the year 1721 the Missisagies, according to Charlevoix, had villages near the outlet of Lake Ontario, and also near Niagara and Detroit. Until within a recent date, the Ottawas occupied a considerable portion of the peninsula of Michigan north and west of the Potawatamies; and the Chippewas are situated chiefly around Lake Superior. On the dispersion of the Algonquin tribes upon the river Ottawa in the middle of the seventeenth century, a part sought protection from the French, and reside in Lower Canada; and the Nepissings and other tribes escaped to Michilimackinac, the Falls of St. Marie, and the northern shores of Lake Superior. About the year 1800 a considerable portion of the peninsula of Michigan was occupied by the Ottawas; and the Potawatamies held that portion of territory upon the shore of Lake Michigan; the Wyandots occupied the eastern shore of Lake Huron, and the Chippewas the southern bank of Lake Superior.*

The character of the savages is made up of mixed traits of good and evil. They are barbarians, and can never appreciate the advantages of civilization. In their customs,

* See Synopsis of the Indian Tribes of North America, by the Hon. Albert Gallatin, published in the second volume of the collections of the American Antiquarian Society.

their feasts, their wars, their dress, and their amusements, they resemble the savages of other nations, although they are of more elevated caste. Their minds do not grasp great consequences, and they are deficient in the power of reasoning. In their enterprises they seldom overstep a prescribed circle of action ; for their future state, they never look beyond the western sky. All those qualities which are founded in instinct and habit they possess in a high degree, and but few of the higher qualities of intellect. Their oratorical efforts are impassioned and figurative, but seldom contain arguments. The ideas which are expressed in these efforts are founded in obvious suggestions, and entirely fail in close logic. Their vanity exceeds that of most savage nations ; and it is this which induces them to paint their faces, to cover their heads with feathers, and adorn their bodies with gewgaws. To their friends they are generous, and will share with them the last morsel of venison and the shelter of their lodge. Their enemies they will fawn upon and flatter, only to watch the time for their destruction. As a general fact, it will not be established that they are brave in battle. They rather prefer to delude by hypocritical assurances of friendship, and to surprise like assassins. With the exception of the Iroquois, the history of the north-west furnishes but few instances of honorable and open Indian combat. Pontiac, in 1763, devised the destruction of the English forts by a rank and fraudulent deception ; and the Prophet, in the battle of Tippecanoe, practised a miserable stratagem, which would rank him not much above a murderer. Their rules of war are base and disgusting when tested by the code of civilized nations. They will scalp an unarmed and fallen enemy, a woman or an infant ; torture them and drink their blood, or eat their flesh. Individual instances of signal genius have been exhibited ; and the character of Garangula, Pontiac, Brant, and Tecumseh, stands out, among merely barbarian communities, for courage and eloquence, when adjudged by barbarian standards. If they have exhibited occasional success, it has been generally when they could escape danger by standing behind trees and shooting their enemies. Their

manliness is exhibited by binding upon the women burdens which belong to the stronger sex. Combined with this is a lofty bearing, which impresses us with a sense of respect rather than disgust at their presence, which would arise in the absence of that quality.

A stoic in his temperament, the north-western savage seems to be a fatalist, and will look with the same composure on success or misfortune ; he is contented to remain in the woods, and to gain a scanty subsistence from the forest ; or when that is wanting, owing to his indolence, he kills and consumes his horses or dogs. As civilization advances, the means of his subsistence diminish. There are many examples of Indian gratitude and humanity which relieve this dark picture ; and he is honest and true to his word. We do not blame him for what he is, because the savage is ingrained in his constitution ; we only describe what he seems to be.

In their dispositions the Indians of the lakes are peaceable, and they will meet you in the forest with the French words of salutation, *Bon Jour*. During the early spring they retire from their villages to what are called Sugar Camps, where they manufacture a large quantity of maple sugar, and collect it in mococks of bark ; either for their own consumption, or for sale at the settlements of the whites, in exchange for head trinkets, cloths, or intoxicating liquors. The furs which they may have collected at such times are sold for the same articles. It is useless to remark that intoxication is their besetting sin when the means are obtained.

This singular race will long remain an enigma to the mind. Unchanged in their habits and opinions, they have defied the efforts of civilization to improve their condition. Whatever may be the soundness of the logic which claims that civilization had a right to this soil because it was uncultivated and occupied by savages, an argument which would wrest a considerable portion of the world from the hand of its present possessors ; it is clear that the Indians have been defrauded less by government than by individuals. The enactment of the United States, which declares that their land shall not be taken without their consent, is founded in justice ; but improper

influence has doubtless been exercised by individuals to induce them to sell their lands. Many will soon retire west of the Mississippi ; and as the plough-share is driven over their hunting-grounds, cities are built on the site of their ancient camps ; and civilization digs up the bones of their forefathers in order to lay the foundation of a canal or rail-road, dissipating their fading memorials like ghosts at the rising sun ; it should be our most cherished consciousness, that, as a nation, we have acted in justice, and softened the pangs of their misfortunes.

INDIAN POPULATION OF MICHIGAN IN 1837.

TRIBE, OR BAND.	RESIDENCE.	POPULATION.
Wyandots,	Monroe County,	estimate 60
Chippewas of Swan Creek,	Macomb do.	Do. 180
Chippewas of Black River,	St. Clair do.	Do. 230
Chippewas of Saginaw,	Valley of the Saginaw,	Do. 800
Ottawas of Grand River,	Valley of Grand River, Pay rolls of 1837,	945
Ottawas of Maskigo,	Maskigo River,	Do. 87
Ottawas & Chippewas of White River,	East Coast of Lake Michigan,	Do. 142
Do. do. <i>Pierre Marquette R.</i>	Do.	Do. 63
Chippewas of Manistee,	Do.	Do. 33
Do. of Osigomico,	Do.	Do. 8
Do. of Carp River,	Do.	Do. 103
Do. of Grand <i>Traverse Bay</i> ,	Do.	Do. 292
Ottawas of Little <i>Traverse Bay</i> ,	Do.	Do. 249
Do. Village of the Cross,	Do.	Do. 305
Do. <i>L'Abre Croche</i> ,	Little Traverse Bay,	Do. 426
Ottawas of Cheboigon,	S. coast of Lake Huron	Do. 102
Chippewas of Thunder Bay,	Do.	Do. 103
Chippewas of the Beaver Islands,	Lake Michigan,	Do. 105
Chippewas & Ottawas of Drummond Island,	Lake Huron,	Do. 61
Chippewas of the Chenoux,	N. coast Lake Huron,	Do. 56
Do. bands of Ance & Missutigo	Do. (straits of Michilimackinac)	Do. 104
Do. of North Manistee,	Do.	Do. 83
Do. of Little Bay de Nocquet,	N. end of Green Bay,	Do. 76
Do. Shawonegeezhig's band,	Do.	Do. 86
Do. Esconabee River,	Do.	Do. 88
Do. of Chocolate River,	S. East Lake Superior,	Do. 75
Do. of Grand Island,	Do. Do.	Do. 53
Do. of Tacquimenon River,	Do. Do.	Do. 61

TRIBE, OR BAND.	RESIDENCE.	POPULATION.
Chippewas of Sault St. Marie,	Straits of St. Mary.	Pay rolls of 1837, 152
Chippewas & Ottawas of the Islands of Bois-blanc & Mackinaw,	Lake Huron,	Do. 59
Ottawas south of Grand River,	E. coast Lake Michigan	estimate 200
Potawatamies of the St. Joseph's,	Do.	Do. 150
Monomonies N. of Monomonee Ri- ver,	Green Bay,	Do. 90
Chippewas of Upper Michigan, west of Chocolate River,	Lake Superior,	Do. 2,200*

The policy of the government, it is well known, has been exercised to remove the savages of the country to the west of the Mississippi, and a considerable portion of the Indians of Michigan have consented to this removal. It is not improbable that the number has been already much diminished by emigration. Indeed, we witnessed, during the last year, a large encampment on the banks of the Detroit River, who were understood to be making arrangements for that object.

* For this census I am indebted to the kindness of Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq., Indian Agent for the United States.

CHAPTER XVII.

General features of the Lake Country—Its commercial advantages—Ohio—Indiana—Michigan—Illinois—Wisconsin—National importance of the great lakes—Causes of the former slow growth of the country—Relative importance of Michigan—Future prospects of this region.

MICHIGAN, as a prominent State of the north-west, opens a brilliant prospect of future opulence and power. Adjoining a territory of remarkable extent and resources, its future progress must depend not only upon its own local enterprize and means, but also upon the inducements which that territory holds out to immigration and settlement from other parts of the United States, as well as from abroad. At the threshold, we are forcibly struck with the physical features of what may be denominated the lake region of the country. Unlike most of the older States of the east, which spread out their rugged and sometimes mountainous scenery, abounding with the luxuries of civilization, their cultivated fields, cities, villages, farm-houses, and monuments, broken only by limited groves of primeval forest, which remain as the solitary reliques of the departed wilderness, we feel, in advancing to that region, as if we were entering more directly the dominion of nature. While the arts of civilization, in the older sections of the country, have moulded almost the entire face of nature to their own ends, the domain of the north-west seems to have been but partially invaded. While man has been ranging almost every other part of the globe, building up and demolishing empires, this domain seems to have been reserved from his dominion. It seems as if the veil which enveloped it had been but recently drawn aside, and disclosed to view, as the last theatre of human action, a gigantic scene of woods and waters, fresh, silent, solitary, magnificent.

Along the courses of the rivers is generally found a belt of gloomy forest, varying in width ; where the trees, close together and of large size, send up their shafts high into the air, and interlock their branches so as to shut out the sun from the damp and deep vegetable matter which moulders in the twilight around their trunks. As you advance across these belts into the interior, extensive tracts of groves expand before the eye, on an undulating surface ; sometimes broken by a prairie, which appears like a lake, studded occasionally with wooded islands, and surrounded by forest shores. These prairies, composed of a rich and deep vegetable mould, often extend as far as the eye can reach ; and through a distant avenue, resembling a strait made by the wilderness, another prairie may be often seen, stretched out in an irregular form. Groves of burr-oak, resembling orchards, may be descried ; and now a swamp, where the mire is so deep as to render it impervious, opposes a formidable obstacle to the traveller. Sometimes the prospect is bounded by wide tracts called barrens, affording a stunted growth of trees and a tolerable soil, but stretching along hillock and dale in beautiful undulation.

The navigable advantages of this region are scarcely exceeded by its agricultural resources. Besides numerous small streams which afford inland navigation, water-power, and channels for rafts and flat boats, the Ohio waters a valuable portion of the north-west. The Mississippi, taking its rise in the remote north, and receiving as tributaries several large rivers, fertilizes nearly three thousand miles of country in its progress to the Gulf of Mexico ; and the great lakes, Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior, constituting much the largest body of fresh water on the globe, watering the shores of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and giving to Michigan a longer line of coast than any other State in the Union, seek the ocean through the St. Lawrence.

The State of Ohio, containing a population of more than fifteen hundred thousand, has, from its age and proximity to the east, become already more densely settled than any other portion of this territory. Such a measure of physical strength acting on the soil, must have made vast inroads upon the

wilderness ; and, accordingly we find in that a greater measure of improvement than in any other of the north-western States. Here, wider clearings have been made. Broader harvests gild the fields, which are spread out below ; solitary trees, whose massive trunks spring from the vegetable mould towards the heavens "like the lone columns of a fallen temple," which the axe of the emigrant has destroyed. More frequent herds of cattle, with tinkling bells to show their ranging grounds, rove the natural pastures of the wilderness within sight of the smoke which curls from the log-house in the forest. Roads are more beaten ; and the silence of the streams is more often broken by the voice of the boatman, or the hoarse puff of the steamboat as it shoots along undulating banks crowned with forest, loaded with freight for Cincinnati, Pittsburg, or the intermediate ports ; the whole scene presenting a sturdy frame of enterprise, acting on a bountiful soil, which only requires age and industry to mould its condition into luxury and refinement.

Indiana soon opens to view, with its broad and fertile plains ; exhibiting less improvement than Ohio, but inhabited by an agricultural class of population, amounting to six hundred thousand, who are content to live in their comfortable villages and farm-houses in comparative indolence ; knowing that the seed which is thrown broad cast upon their ploughed oak-lands and savannas, will yield them bounteous returns ; intelligent, cheerful, and independent.

Michigan* soon appears in sight, with its picturesque landscapes and lakes, its parks of oak-lands and flowery glades. This may be properly termed the Lake State ; for four large lakes wash its shores, giving rise to the Indian origin of the name, and its whole domain is studded with little crystal ponds, which are set like gems in the soil to beautify the scenery.

Then comes Illinois, with its wide prairies ready for the plough, where the mould varies from one to five feet deep ;

* See Gazetteer of Michigan, containing a valuable collection of statistical facts.

which in summer are covered with gorgeous flowers ; and as winter approaches, present the aspect of black and cheerless plains, from the autumnal fires which sweep over this region. Here the prairies, which in Michigan seem like small ponds, stretch into a form which may be compared to chains of seas ; with their indentations, bays, bends, timbered islands, and straits, all bounded by forest shores. And the inducements which are here held out for settlement have not been offered in vain ; for, although of recent growth, the emigrants who occupy its rich fields, and the wood-lands which fringe its streams, amount, together with Michigan, to about seven hundred thousand.

At last the territory of Wisconsin, containing a population of more than nineteen thousand ; a hilly region, abounding with water-power and mineral wealth, washed by Lake Michigan and the upper Mississippi, sweeps forward among the sister States, like a young maiden in green and flowing robes, to win the emigrant to her home.

The great lakes are the prominent feature of the north-west and of the country. Stretching from the State of New-York beyond the extreme north-western boundaries of Michigan, they will soon furnish a continuous line of navigation from the remotest shores of Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico through the Mississippi, and to the Atlantic Ocean through the St. Lawrence. Nor is the scenery of the lakes less remarkable than their commercial advantages. In advancing from New-York through Lake Erie, Pennsylvania bounds a part of its southern shore, and exhibits the thriving settlement of Erie, her only port on that lake ; and further onward, Ohio is met on the same line, with its heavily timbered banks. Cleveland, a flourishing city, soon appears, showing in its new but muscular aspect the evidence of a vigorous enterprize ; and a little onward, the village of Sandusky heaves in sight. In approaching its western shore, between the wooded islands which dot that part of the lake, the land appears more low, damp, and level. In advancing towards the coast of Michigan, and up through the Detroit River and the transparent waters of the Lake and River St. Clair, a new aspect of things

is presented. The Michigan shore of the lake exhibits heavily timbered forests, indented at wide distances by small villages, which seem to fill up the entire space of the clearings which are made in the forest; and the evidence of foreign influence is soon seen in the character of the improvements. The inlets which divide the stream give a picturesque character to the view; and both the Canadian and American sides of the Detroit River, the Lake and River St. Clair, exhibit the little cottages of the old French peasantry, constructed sometimes of planed logs, and surrounded by orchards of pear and apple trees, whose seed was brought from the provinces of France during the age of Louis XIV. Behind these orchards are narrow fields enclosed with pickets; while here and there, amid the continuous settlement, a windmill is seen; or a little chapel, surmounted by the cross, evinces that the religion of the class of French settlers is Catholic. Indeed, the mixed French and English character of the little villages of Malden, Sandwich, and Amherstburgh on the British side of the strait, the silence and pastoral quietude of the scene, are strongly contrasted with the activity, as well as the sturdy and substantial form of architecture which prevails upon the American bank. The comparative growth of the two sides of the strait, and the genius of the two governments, are shown by the fact that while Canada presents on this line only a few small settlements, Detroit has advanced within a short period to a population of more than ten thousand.

At the head of the river St. Clair, Lake Huron spreads itself out in a surface as clear as crystal, bounded on the northern coast of Michigan by thickly timbered and uninhabited shores. Lake Michigan expands toward the south with bold banks of sand, sloping glades, and dense forests; disclosing the cities of Green Bay and Milwaukee in the Wisconsin territory, and Chicago in Illinois. Last of all, though first in magnitude, Lake Superior stretches itself out like the Atlantic. Navigated only by the bark canoes of the Indians, or the traders which skulk along its shores, or the two or three small vessels of the Hudson's Bay or the American Fur Company,

which have appropriated the British or American side to the Fur trade, seemingly disdainful of civilization, which is subduing the adjoining region, and bowing to none but God; it sleeps like a mirror, or heaves and dashes its surges against rugged and rocky shores, which are almost as silent and solitary as they have been since the creation.

The causes of the slow progress of improvement when this vast domain was under the French domination, are obvious. They are founded on the policy of the French Government and the character of the people. It has been seen that the French colonists were wanting in energy and enterprise. They were laboring under a political servitude, which, if the genius of the people had been active, would necessarily have cramped their operations. The policy of the laws prevented settlement, and the colonists were devoted to the employment of seigneurs in the prosecution of the Fur trade.* Without that stability and perseverance which might have enabled them to become substantial tenants, encouraging settlement and advancing the progress of agriculture, their enjoyments consisted in traversing the lakes, in shooting the buffaloes which moved along the shores of Michigan, or across the vast prairies of Illinois, like black pirate fleets upon the ocean.† And they were contented with their lot; for the forests swarmed with game, the rivers with fish, water-fowl blackened the crystal shores of the streams, or fed in the sedgy marshes

* The whole system of operation under the French Government, as has been before seen, was singular. In Michigan the accounts were kept in beaver skins, and if these were wanting, other furs were received in payment for goods, after having been reduced to their value in beaver skins. As late as 1765, beaver, at Michilimackinac was two shillings and sixpence per pound, "Michilimackinac currency;" otter skins were six shillings each; marlin was one shilling and sixpence; and other peltries were in like proportion. The prices for a Stroud blanket were ten beaver skins, for a white blanket eight, a pound of powder two, a pound of shot or of ball one, a gun twenty, an axe of one pound weight two, a knife one. Peltries were generally used as a circulating medium in the absence of a better currency, although the notes and coin of Quebec and Montreal sometimes found their way to the lake ports. See *Henry's Travels*, p. 195.

† The buffalo paths are now seen on the prairies of Illinois. They formerly roamed on the banks of the Detroit River, but have since been driven to the plains of Missouri and the base of the Rocky Mountains.

which fringed them, and the wide savannahs of this region, and the clustering grapes which hung from the trees, reminded them of the champaign districts of France, from which they emigrated.

The same general causes impeded the growth of the country after the English obtained its dominion. It was then held as a matter of conquest, and settlement was encouraged only so far as it might tend to support the military establishments which were erected for its defence. Troops were quartered on the country to defend it from invasion, and individuals were prohibited from purchasing tracts of the savages, or from making any settlements, unless by the permission of the English monarch. Nor had population advanced into this quarter in sufficient strength to stamp their influence upon the country. Accordingly we find that there are but few vestiges of foreign enterprise in that portion of the territory which now belongs to the United States.

Even after the treaty of 1783, which ceded the north-western territory to the United States, and liberal cessions had been made by the eastern States to the General Government, the country remained a comparative wilderness. The confederation of the Indians upon the lakes opposed the advance of emigration. Even the few settlers who had established themselves upon the banks of the Muskingum found their path beset by savages, who were influenced by that vindictive jealousy which they at this time entertained toward the American people; and while the emigrants held the rifle near them as a defence against the savages, they were obliged to wield their axes upon the oaks which beset their path. Indeed, it was only about forty years since that the State of Michigan came into the possession of the United States, and American emigrants had scarcely obtained a strong foot-hold upon the soil, when the war of 1812 broke out, which resulted in the devastation of the territory.

When the last peace was declared, and the possession of Michigan was regained, formidable obstacles were opposed to its progress in a fear of the Indians and the ignorance which prevailed respecting the resources of the interior. The low belt of soil which borders its surrounding

lakes was deemed a specimen of the whole territory. The interior was occupied, for the most part, by Indians and traders, who had just emerged from a struggle with the United States to secure the domain. But few motives were presented under these circumstances for any thorough explorations. It was for the interest of these traders and Indians to describe the country as low, wet, and almost submerged by swamps.* When an occasional party adventured into the forest, their horses sunk deep in the mire which abounds along the frontier; and they were induced to return without advancing further, for their own experience confirmed the current reports. They were not aware of what facts have since proved, that the central portion of Michigan abounded with a dry, undulating, and fertile soil, in every way adapted to the purposes of agriculture. Accordingly it was twenty years since believed that what now constitutes the State of Michigan was a vast morass, surrounded only by a narrow rim of inhabitable land.

After the survey had been made of the territory, the public lands brought into market, and the Erie Canal had been constructed, the full action of American enterprise was felt upon the north-west. It appears that the present convenient mode of surveys, which is now employed, was first recommended by General William H. Harrison in 1799, when a delegate of the north-western territory. Albert Gallatin subsequently gave his aid in the framing of the law which was afterwards established for that object. Prior to the year 1820, the price demanded by government for land was two dollars by the acre, one fourth of which was required to be paid on the purchase, and the remainder in three annual instalments; a discount of eight per cent being allowed if the whole amount was paid in advance, but subject to forfeiture on failure of payment. The operation of this system was found to be attended with evil consequences. The quality of the soil, and the probable advance of its value, induced many to adventure into large pur-

* The savages always opposed the progress of settlement. The first surveyors of Michigan met with opposition from the Indians. At a place called Battle Creek, in this State, the surveyors and Indians came to open warfare. Hence arose that name.

chases ; and while a few realized fortunes by their investments, others did not possess the means of paying their instalments, and consequently lost the whole. Land was diminished in value on account of the large quantity in market. The whole population became purchasers. Produce was increased in the amount raised, in such a degree as to exceed the demand for its consumption ; and the profit from that source was also cut off, while the emigrants required labor and money in order to improve their farms. The purchase of lands and the importation of foreign goods drained the population of their means ; the amount raised and the market for products were not sufficient to equalize the balance of trade. The credit system was, however, soon abolished. Tracts might be purchased in smaller quantities, and the price affixed was one dollar and a quarter for the acre ; which would enable the husbandman, by the labor of a week, to procure sufficient land to maintain him for the year.*

From the recent emigration, the development of the resources of the country, the establishment of public works, the increased commerce of the lakes, which opens a ready market to all the productions of the west, the state of things has become much changed ; and it is found, that those who are willing to exert their enterprise in agricultural labor seldom fail to receive bountiful returns, as all the productions which are not required by the local population find a ready market at the east. Large capitalists secure a profitable subject of investment in advancing the progress of those improvements which are now going on, and everywhere the motives for production are increased.

It is to the period of the introduction of the public land into market, and the establishment of internal improvements, furnishing a market for the products of the soil, that the growth of the State of Michigan, as well as the other north-western States, may be dated. The agricultural classes of the eastern population, which comprised the great body of the emigrants, were induced to advance into this region, where

* See Hall's Statistics of the West.

the best legal title could be procured to the richest soil, and the labor of a week would provide sufficient land for their support during a year. We here subjoin a table from the official revision, which exhibits the growth of the north-western territory at the different periods of the enumeration. Some variations are to be considered as depending upon the change of state and territorial boundaries.

STATES.	1800	1810	1820	1830	1838
Ohio,	45,365	230,760	581,434	937,903	1,600,000
Indiana,	4,875	24,520	147,178	343,031	600,000
Illinois,		2,282	55,211	157,455	525,000
Michigan,		4,762	8,896	31,639	175,000
Wisconsin,					* 18,148
Total population in 1838, according to the received estimate,					2,918,148

Numerous causes combine, which will eventually make the State of Michigan among the most prominent of the north-west; the principal of which are, the fact that it is almost encircled by the great lakes, and that it possesses a fertile soil, various in its character, possessing but little waste land, and capable of holding a dense population. The rich, black mould of the timbered land, the best quality of whose soil is indicated by a growth of black walnut, white wood, ash, buck-eye, and sugar maple, is eminently adapted to agriculture. Although there are parts of timbered land which contain a growth of sugar maple, these are comparatively few; such tracts comprise a most fertile soil. When deadened, the trees are easily burned; but when green, are hard to cut. The poorest quality of this species of land is that on which there is a growth of beech and soft maple, and that soil is a grey sand based on a stratum of blue clay. The average price of clearing and fencing this soil is believed to be about fifteen dollars per acre. It is, however, not unfrequently the case that potashes are made upon the soil in sufficient quantity to pay for the clearing and fencing. The first crop of corn may be got in with the hoe, and will often yield 40 bushels to the acre; it is excellent for grass and wheat, is often watered

* See American Almanack for 1838.

by clear springs, and produces vegetation a fortnight earlier than the openings.

Along the margin of the streams of Michigan are what are called bottom lands, sometimes running back a mile from the bank; maintaining the same general character with the heavily timbered forest, and bounded frequently by a ridge of an average height of twenty feet. From these bluffs springs often gush out, and flow into the streams. During the freshets these bottom lands are most generally overflowed. Saw logs, of black walnut and white wood, as well as other forest trees, are obtained when the stream is of sufficient depth to admit of rafts in sufficient quantity to pay for the clearing. This land is favorable for corn, which will yield in greater quantity than the timbered uplands. It is also adapted to English grass, which, got in with the harrow in the fall, will produce two tons to the acre. This, in the present scarcity of that article, is a profitable crop.

There is a striking contrast presented in the oak openings of Michigan. Comprised, as they are, of white oaks interspersed with black and yellow oaks, as well as hickory, many of the trees have a shaft of sixty feet of hewing timber. The growth of hickory indicates a soil of bright yellow loam. Being free from under-growth, it produces wheat of the first character, as the grain is plump and round, and free from smut or cheat. In preparing this land for cultivation, the ordinary course for the emigrant is, to cut down and roll together all the timber under the size of a foot in diameter, together with the fallen and dead timber; to girdle the remainder when he has taken off enough rail timber to fence it; to break up the land in the months of June and July, the sap being then in the grass, and causing the turf sooner to rot; and then sow a bushel and a half of wheat to each acre by the middle of September. The expense of doing this will probably be about ten dollars per acre. The first crop of wheat will be about twelve bushels per acre, which will be annually increased until it amounts to thirty bushels. In the openings there is also another description of timber and soil. The growth is frequently a grove of small trees, not more

than eight inches in diameter, and of uniform size. Perhaps an occasional plain without vegetation, breaks the scene ; with here and there a tall and thrifty oak springing from a yellow loam, and on a gently undulating soil.

Openings, which adjoin timbered land, are not unfrequently distinguished by an under-growth of bushes ten feet high, consisting, among other products, of sassafras, hazel, and hickory. The soil of the openings is loose ; and the grass, although sometimes growing knee high, and affording a beautiful range for stock, is not closely matted together like that of the prairies ; so that three yoke of cattle are generally sufficient to break it up.

Each kind of openings is subject to what are called grubs. These are formed by the fires which annually run through the woods, and burn the tops of the vegetation, leaving a root which spreads over the ground sometimes three feet square, and is firmly imbedded in the soil. Six yoke of cattle are frequently required to tear up these grubs, which is done by the plough. It is often necessary to hitch one yoke of cattle on the rear of the plough, and pull it back three or four feet before it can go on. The expense of clearing this land will depend, in great measure, upon the conveniences at hand. An occasional pond or running brook furnishes abundant water ; and water may also be found by digging twenty-five feet.

The soil of the burr-oak plains, being of a deep brown sand or loam, is more productive than openings. It is easily broken up when free from grubs, and can be improved at less expense when lying convenient to oak openings and timbered land ; the burr-oaks being generally eight inches in diameter, of a scrubby nature, and thinly scattered over the surface of the soil. The length from the body to the root of the tree generally maintains an average of about fourteen feet. As the burr-oak is difficult to split, it does not usually make more than one rail ; and the soil, like that of the openings, grows black by cultivation, which is caused by the lime which makes up a great part of its composition, producing the finest crops of wheat : it is not equal to the timbered land for corn or grass. The usual cost of breaking and fencing

this land is about ten dollars for the acre ; and the purest water may be obtained by digging twenty-five feet.

The particular advantages of the prairies are, that being composed of a rich black muck, based on a stratum of clay varying from six to twelve inches in depth, and being free from timber and grubs, they oppose no obstacle to the plough. When such tracts lie adjoining to rail timber, improvements may be quickly made at comparatively small expense, and they yield certain and abundant crops. This land is of the most durable character, and possesses many advantages, which are counterbalanced, perhaps, by disadvantages. Water cannot easily be obtained. The soil is difficult to work, as it will not, from its consistency, scour a plough. In winter the bleak winds sweep over their surface as on the ocean. The smut is somewhat troublesome in the wheat, but the crops are bountiful. From the fact that the prairies have been first selected for settlement, they often furnish to the emigrants of the timbered land their grain, until they have cleared their own soil and raised their crops. The expense of breaking and fencing this species of soil, where the rail timber can be procured at no greater distance than three miles, is about ten dollars per acre.

The marshes, or wet prairies, are another valuable species of land. These most usually skirt the margins of the streams, and furnish hay for stock, both in the summer and winter. Large herds of Canadian ponies are turned out to feed upon the prairies during the winter, and in spring they return in good order. Besides the general advantages of the soil furnishing abundant motive to immigration and settlement, another cause of the growth of Michigan exists in the character of the population. Its elements are of that kind which has ever been the most successful in advancing the progress of national improvement. They are descended from a race which, by vigorous enterprise alone, has made the rocky hills of New England bud and blossom like the rose ; and engraved its impression, broad and deep, in the accumulated wealth and public improvement of the State of New-York. Slavery will never be permitted on the soil, and the laborer will always

be presented with the most ample means and motives for exertion.

From the immense extent and fertility of the soil, the commercial advantages, which are founded on its river and lake navigation, connected as it is with almost every section on the east by canals, rail-roads, and steamboats, the enterprising and sturdy character of its population; and the motives for immigration, both at home and from abroad, which it presents; it must be admitted that Michigan, in common with the other States of the north-west, is destined to a high and glorious career. In the breadth and richness of the soil, in its capacity for containing a dense population, it is admitted on all sides that the territory is exceeded by that of no other part of the globe; and the rapidity of its growth has been heretofore unexampled. If the same general causes continue to exist, its future progress must continue in the same ratio of increase. He who should judge rightly of the progress of the country, might stand in the harbor of New-York, amid the forest of masts which crowd that port, and in the tumult of a population of 300,000, view the ships which hug the land, as if receiving nutriment from its enterprise and wealth. Looking back two hundred and twenty-three years, he would see the present site of that city a silent and uninhabited forest.*

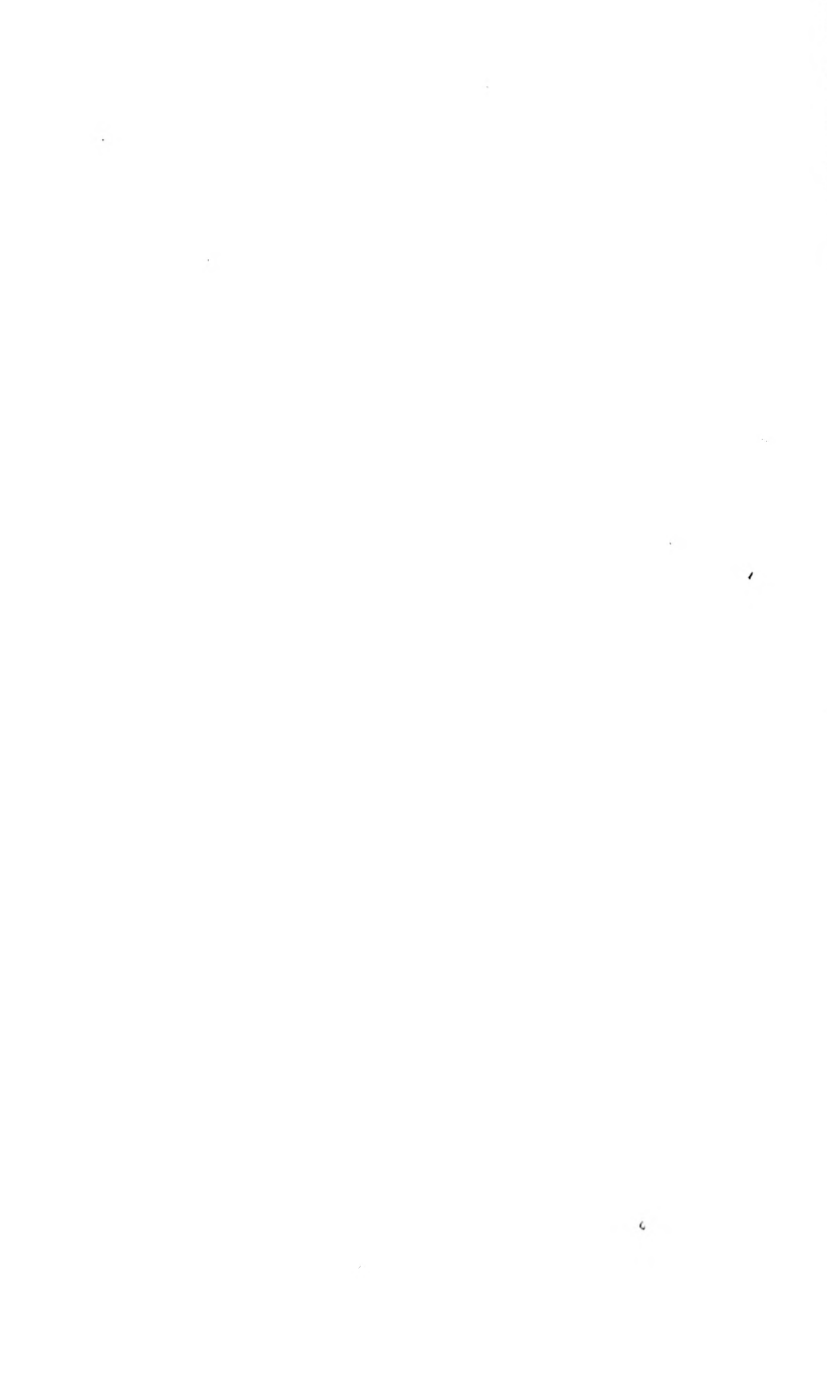
It requires no great effort of the imagination to suppose that the change of affairs upon the lakes in a single century will be as great as New-York has exhibited within that period. Besides the numerous smaller vessels which ply upon the lakes, fifty-four steamboats, some of costly structure, now plough their waters.† Surrounded as Michigan is, by four of these most fertile States, and encircled by inland seas, a powerful physical strength is already acting on the soil. The rail-roads and canals which are projected across the peninsula, the geological investigations now in progress, and the

* New York is claimed to have been founded by the Dutch in 1615.

† The sumptuous arrangements of the steamboats upon the lakes cannot fail to strike the traveller. Among others of scarcely less size and elegance, are the Michigan, the Cleaveland, the Sandusky, and also the Buffalo and Illinois, which appear literally like "floating palaces."

survey of harbors, will develop the agricultural and mineral resources of the State, and furnish a ready market for its products. Free labor is here acting on a rich soil, and will always reap a certain and rich reward. Its solid wealth is locked up in the land ; and the plough and the harrow, wielded by vigorous arms, are all that is required to unbar its vaults. The spirit which is now acting on this region is the hardy, the practical, the utilitarian spirit ; which, if it is not destined at present to exhibit the most splendid monuments of art, will, within the age of him who is now living, stretch its fields of wheat from Cincinnati to the lakes, checker the soil with canals and rail-roads, drain its morasses into healthful meadows, mould the oaks of its forests and the granite of its hills into enduring forms of American architecture, for the perpetuation of American principles, stud its waters with commerce and its inland coasts with sea-ports. Population will throng its hills and valleys. The canal will drag the wealth of the interior into a productive market on the Erie frontier ; and the rail-road car, which starts with the rising sun from the banks of the Detroit, will be illumined by its purple beams as they light the shores of Lake Michigan.* More successful in its achievements than the Grecian conqueror, American enterprise has here found, and is subduing, a new world ; not by the sword and the bayonet, but with the axe, the plane, and the plough ; not by the armies and navies of sceptred potentates, but by the sober convictions of a free people, the exertions of hardy industry, and the sanction of righteous laws.

* It has been remarked, that the sun sets upon the upper lakes with a purple glow.



A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I.—Page 5.

ORIGINAL COLONIZATION OF CANADA, BY FRANCIS I.

(From Sharon Turner's '*History of Henry VIII.*')

As Canada is now become the most important relic of our North American possessions, and is daily increasing in its population, property, and commercial relations, and was first colonized in the reign of Henry VIII., it may gratify the reader to peruse the original instructions for the earliest settlement that was made upon it, from the European branch of the human race, as they were either dictated or approved by Francis I.

This region was existing unknown to all the other parts of the globe until the year 1508, when some Norman and Breton adventurers, seeking their fortune at sea, under one John Denys, of Normandy, accidentally roved near it. They did little more than inspect some of its coasts; but it became afterwards known to several of their countrymen, who went to fish near its shores, and whose reports about it at last interested Francis I. to desire that it should be more specially examined.

With this view, in the year 1534, he sent Jacques Cartier Malouin to reconnoitre the country, inspect its havens and ports, and by sailing up the great river which flowed from it, to learn all that he could collect of its soil, climate, and inhabitants. Cartier executed his commission with satisfactory diligence, and the information which he communicated on his return determined the French king to establish a colony in the country, near its principal river, now called St. Lawrence, which is the largest stream of water in North America. This important river was then termed CANADA by the natives, and its name became transferred to the country itself, though it was afterwards also called New France.

His expensive wars with the emperor prevented Francis I. from pursuing his plan of colonizing Canada till the year 1538. But having at last agreed with Charles V. to establish a general truce between them for ten years, from the 18th June, 1533, he proceeded, three months afterwards, to the accomplishment of his colonial enterprise; and it is in the September of this year that the following official document occurs, for the outfit of the expedition to establish the first settlement in this territory of North America, which has now become such an important member of the foreign dominions of Great Britain.

“Memoir of the Men and Provisions necessary for the Vessels which the King intends to send into Canada.

“To perform the voyage which the king our sovereign lord desires to have made to Canada, it must go, at the latest, in the middle of May ; and must have the number of persons and ships hereinafter mentioned, to be increased or lessened as M. Le Connetable (the prime minister) shall think proper.

“It will be requisite to have, as well for guarding the ships that will remain there, as for the equipment of several boats which will be wanted to go into the various streams and rivers, 120 mariners.

“Also forty men of war ; harquebuziers.

“Also thirty carpenters, as well of ships as of houses, and sawyers who work lengthways.

“Ten master masons, who can be assisted by those of the country who will serve them.

“Three men who can make lime.

“Three makers of tiles.

“Two coalmen, to make charcoal.

“Four master farriers, each having a forge and two servants, with two lock-smiths.

“Four smiths, to search and ascertain if there be any mine of iron, and to make forges and work iron there.

“To take, at least, six vine-dressers and six laborers.

“Three barbers, and each a servant.

“Two apothecaries, with each a servant, to examine and see the useful qualities of the herbs.

“A physician and a servant.

“Two goldsmiths who are lapidaries, with their necessary utensils, and each a servant.

“Two master tailors, and two master hosiers, and each a servant.

“Two joiners and two servants, with their tools.

“Two masters rope-makers and two servants, because there is hemp to make cordage.

“Four cannoneers at least, and the men-of-war will make use of these when need requires.

“Six churchmen, with all things necessary for divine service ; in all 276 men.

“To be victualled for two years at least ; that if the ships which shall be sent there next year should not arrive, those now going may not want food.

“These victuals must be well made, and so good as to last all this time ; and there must be some of the dry wines of Spain.

“These victuals may cost ten sols a month for each man, which, for the 276 men for 24 months, will amount to 33,120 livres.

“They must also be furnished with clothes, beds, coverings, and all other necessities for two or three years ; and they must leave some money behind for their wives and children.

“Therefore they must be paid in advance for fifteen or sixteen months, and this will cost at least, one with the other, 100 sols a-month.

"Ten tons of iron, which will cost fifty livres.

"Eight or ten prizes of salt, as well for the people of the country, who very much value it, as for those of the ships. This will cost in Brittany sixty sols for each prize.

"Four milliers yards of common linen, as well for the natives as for the ships.

"Three hundred pieces of crezeaus for natives and ships.

"Also millstones, to make water-mills, wind-mills, and hand-mills.

"They must also carry out as many as possible of all manner and kinds of domestic beasts and birds, as well to do the work as to breed in the country ; and all sorts of grains and seeds.

"For their passage there must be at least six ships, of not less than 110 tons, with two barks of 45 or 50 tons each ; these, with the smallest of the six ships, will remain there, and the other five will return as soon as they have landed the victuals and goods. For the return of these five, each must have twenty men over and above the aforesaid number. They may take in going and coming, and in staying there, five or six months, for which time they must be victualled ; and be paid two months on going out, and the remainder on their return.

"There must be munitions of war to land for the forts ; artillery arquebuses, a croc, pikes, halberts, lead, balls, powder, and other things.

"In the ships must be three boats, ready to put out when there, to go out on the streams and rivers.

"All sorts of nail-work, pitch, and tar for the ships.

"The six ships, being from 700 to 800 tons, will cost a crown per ton a month, for moleage ; or about 900 crowns a month, and for the six months 4900 crowns.

"There must be also provided pay and victuals for 100 men, to bring back the shipping this year, who may be detained six months ; which would amount to 1000 livres a month, and therefore for the six months 6000 livres.

"Made the . . . September, 1538."

- I derive this curious paper from the collection of state letters made by Ribier in 1666, and addressed by him to Colbert, the celebrated minister of Louis XIV. This counsellor of state describes Canada as then "a vast country, uncultivated like a desert, and in most places uninhabited, except by demons and wild beasts."

It was in 1540 that this colonizing expedition reached Canada, under the *Sieur de Roberval*, and in 1543 another fleet, under his superintendence, was sent to it by the same intelligent monarch, Francis I., who seems not to have suffered either of his contemporaries, Charles V. or Henry VIII., to have surpassed him in his encouragement to every laudable undertaking which the intellect and spirit of the day were inclined to pursue.

NOTE II.—Page 14.

THE following remarks, contained in the Discourse of Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft before the Historical Society of Michigan, exhibit the progress of the Iroquois upon the American side of the lakes, in their marches against the Algonquins:—They were not satisfied with their conquests toward the south and west. They pushed their war parties north to Lake Huron, by the route of Lake Simcoe and Nadowasaking, where they found and subdued the mixed tribe of the Mississages. They passed through this lake to the island of St. Joseph in the river St. Mary, where a severe action took place between them and the Hurons. This action was fought on the water, and in canoes. They were not deterred by the partial discomfiture attending it. They passed deep into the northern regions, and exhibited themselves in a strong body on the borders of Lake Superior, at a prominent point, which perpetuates their name and defeat.

Point Iroquois, or, as it is called by the Indians, the Place of Iroquois Bones,* is at least 900 miles from the general seat of the Iroquois Council Fire at Onondaga.

At this distant point, in the career of their conquest, flushed with victory and confident of success, they encamped.

It is said a prisoner was sacrificed, to stimulate the thirst of vengeance, and to swell the number of melancholy, but in general doubtful instances in which man has voluntarily polluted his lips with the flesh of man.

But in the height of the infernal ceremony retribution was at hand. Their passage through the river, and the audacious and reckless spirit which they had everywhere manifested, had been narrowly watched. The Chippewas hastily mustered their forces, and prepared to follow them. When they had reached the head of the straits opposite the Iroquois camp, the weather became threatening; and it was debated whether they should not defer their passage till the next day. In this dilemma, their prophet or seer was appealed to; and he, after the usual ceremonies, declared a favorable omen. They awaited the approach of night, and embarked in two divisions. The darkness of the night was extremely favorable to their enterprize. The parties landed at separate places, and formed a junction in the woods in the rear of the Iroquois camp. The prophet here declared another favorable omen. They then sent forward some scouts to observe the condition of the enemy, who appeared totally unconscious of danger, and were still singing their war-songs. It was determined to remain in their concealed position till the enemy had gone to sleep. It then commenced raining. They advanced in the rain and darkness, cautiously feeling their way, to the edge of the woods. They then made their onset. The struggle was fierce, but of short duration. As had been concerted, each lodge was surrounded at the same moment; the poles lifted, and the tent precipitated upon the sleepers, who were dispatched, as they started up, bewildered and entangled in their tents. A great slaughter ensued. Very few of the Iroquois escaped to carry the news of the disaster, nor did this nation ever renew their inroad.

About the same time (1630) some of the other northern tribes made a suc-

* Nadowagaquining.

cessful effort to repair the injuries they had received from the Five Nations. A party of 400 Iroquois having, in one of their western excursions, reached the banks of the Maumee river, surprised the camp of the Miamis and Illinois, killed upwards of 30, and took 300 prisoners, among whom were a great proportion of women and children; with this trophy they commenced their return, confident in their strength, and the dread their name had inspired among the western tribes. The discomfited Miamis prepared to avenge their loss.

They obtained the aid of some of the tribes in alliance with them, and made a hasty pursuit, keeping far enough in the rear to avoid premature discovery, and determined to improve the first opportunity to concert a stratagem. Fortune came to their aid.

A rain storm commenced, and continued with such violence that they were confident the Iroquois would stop.

The rain fell incessantly from morning till evening. Conceiving this a favorable opportunity, they pushed on with such diligence that they got in advance of the enemy. They concealed themselves on the sides of the trail in meadow grounds, where the grass screened them, and the make of the ground afforded a favorable position for attack. When the Iroquois had entered the defile, the Miamis started up, and pouring in from all sides, threw them into confusion. The panic of the Five Nations was further increased on discovering that the rain had rendered their fire-arms useless, and they were compelled to rely chiefly on their war-clubs. In this contest, the superior activity of the western Indians in the management of their native weapons became manifest. One hundred and eighty of the Iroquois fell; the rest retreated fighting till night put a stop to the conflict.

The Miamis recovered all their prisoners, and effected a safe retreat. A very different result, however, generally attended the Iroquois expeditions towards the west and north. Their track was literally marked with blood; but it was blood doomed to be atoned for by future humiliation. Their career had terminated as inauspiciously as if they had never sacked villages and exterminated tribes. No foresight could have anticipated that the lapse of time would bring back this proud and conquering people into the upper lakes as supplicants to the north-eastern tribes for a small tract of ground to raise their corn upon, and to serve as a refuge for their children. Yet such are the facts exhibited by the treaty of purchase made by the Iroquois delegates of the Menomies and Winebagoes in 1821. This treaty took place at Green Bay, near which the Iroquois settlements have been gradually accumulating.

Six years later, at Butte des Morts, they formerly smoked the pipe of peace with the Northern Algonquins, after a war which, without any formal cessation, is known to have continued the better part of two centuries.

In looking to the causes which gave the Iroquois such a preponderance to the other tribes, the advantages of a close union, and their local position at the sources of so many important streams, have been mentioned by their eloquent historian.* But it is quite evident that the great and efficient cause of their success existed in their having early acquired the use of fire-arms, while the western tribes adhered with obstinacy to the bow and club. Even after the

* Clinton.

lake tribes had obtained a supply of fusils, they still hankered after their ancient arms ; and twice, within half a century, (from 1762 to 1812,) they formed confederacies against the whites, based on a total renunciation of the use of European manufacture. But little can be said in corroboration of the opinion which has been advanced, that the Iroquois were a superior race of men to other of our tribes ; and in support of which, their valor and exploits, and particularly their skill as diplomatists and orators, have been adduced.

Brave they undoubtedly were, according to the Indian idea of bravery. As far as mere brute force could triumph, they triumphed.

But with all their achievements they never acquired the moral courage to spare the vanquished after battle. They never elevated themselves above the savage principle which does not distinguish between a public and private foe.

NOTE III.—Page 34.

Massacres of the Jesuits by the Iroquois.

FATHER Hennepin, who was for some time a missionary among the Iroquois, states that the savages believed him to be a conjurer ; and a burnished silver chalice, which he had in his possession, was the subject of much fear. "The Indians," says Pere Jerome Lallamant, "fear us as the greatest sorcerers on earth." The first religious mission of the Jesuits to the savages of North America was about the year 1611. Their zeal, their endurance of deprivation in the necessities of life, evinced their religion ; which was most frequently crowned with the most intense tortures of martyrdom. Pere Brebeuf, who had suffered the hardships of the wilderness for twenty years, was at last burned alive, together with his coadjutor, Pere Lallamant, upon the shores of Lake Huron. A number of other Jesuits were also put to death by the Iroquois. Among these were Daniel Garnier Buteaux, La Riborde, Liegeouis, Goupil, and Constantin. Their deprivations may be known in some measure from the work of Pere Lallamant in his "*Relation de ce qui s'est dans le pays des Hurons*, 1640. "For bed," says he, "we have nothing but a miserable piece of bark of a tree ; for nourishment a handfull or two of corn, either roasted or soaked in water, which seldom satisfies our hunger ; and, after all, not venturing to perform even the ceremonies of our religion without being considered as sorcerers." In regard to the success of their exertions, Pere Lallamant remarks, "With respect to adult persons in good health, there is little apparent success ; on the contrary, there have been nothing but storms and whirlwinds from that quarter."

NOTE IV.—Page 40.

"THE following grant, being the first in Detroit, was made by Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac, Esq. Lord of Bouaquet Montdesert, and Commandant for the king at Detroit Pont Chartrain.

His Majesty, by his despatches of the 14th, 17th, and 19th June, 1705 and 1706, having given us power to concede the lands of Detroit in the manner which we shall judge good and convenient ; We, by virtue of the said power from his Majesty, have given, granted, and conceded to Francois Fafard Delorme, interpreter for the king in this place, his heirs and assigns, an extent of land of two arpents in front by twenty in depth, joining on one side our manor,

and on the other, Francois Bosseron, and on the South, the Grand River; which two arpents in front shall be drawn and alienated in the depth by the course north north-west; and in case any part short of two arpents was found in the alienation, the same quantity shall be furnished to him in another place, not yet conceded, without any expense; which said two arpents in front by twenty in depth, the said Francois Fafard, his heirs and assigns, shall hold and enjoy for ever, with the privilege of fishing, hunting, and traecting hares; rabbits, partridges and pheasants excepted. Said Francois Fafard, his heirs and assigns, shall be bound to pay us, our heirs and assigns, in our castle and principal manor, each year on the 20th of March, for the said habitation, the sum of five livres quit rent and rent, and over and above, for other rights whereof we have divested ourselves, the sum of ten livres in peltries good and merchantable; and when a current money shall be established in this country, the said Francois Fafard shall pay the said rent in said money for ever. He shall likewise be obliged to begin to clear and improve the said concession within three months from the date of these presents, in default whereof we shall concede his habitation to whom it shall appertain. He, his heirs and assigns, shall be moreover obliged to comply with the following charges, claims, and conditions: to wit: to come and carry, plant, or help to plant, a long May pole before the door of our principal manor on the first day of May in every year; and if he fails, he shall pay us three livres in money or good peltries; he shall likewise be obliged to come and grind his grains in the mills * which we have, or shall have hereafter, on paying for the right for grinding of whatever kind the grains may be, eight pounds weight by the bushel; and in case he shall sell his habitation in the whole or in part, he shall be obliged to inform us of it, and we reserve to ourselves the preference for the price and sum which may be offered to him; and, on the same condition, lawful and permitted, he shall not sell, cede, or transfer it, by mortgage but with our consent, and he be subject to the public charges and servitudes, as also to the fees for right of alienation.

Said Francois Fafard shall not be permitted during ten years to work, or cause any person to work, directly or indirectly, at the profession and trade of a blacksmith, locksmith, armorer, or brewer, without a permit under our hand; reserving, besides, the timber which may be wanted for the fortifications, and for the construction of boats or other vessels. Said Francois Fafard may send down to Montreal, or other places of the lower colony, all the articles he pleases, in as large a quantity as he chooses; and to bring from thence merchandises and other effects, in as large a quantity as he chooses, on the condition that he shall sell his said effects and merchandises by himself only, or by other inhabitants of this place, but not by engagees or clerks, or foreigners or strangers, not established residents in this place, with their family, on pain of confiscation and loss of said effects and merchandises; and in case the said Francois Fafard shall sell, cede, or transfer his habitation in the whole to a foreigner, or another not established in this place, the possessor or purchaser of said habitation in any manner, whatever he may be, or become such, shall be liable to the same quit rent and rent as the said Francois Fafard; and if the said Francois Fafard sells, cedes, or transfers part of his habitation to a foreigner, the purchaser in what-

* This mill was called Moulin Bannaul, or the Mill of the Manor.

ever manner he be or become such, shall be obliged to pay us, our heirs and assigns forever, in proportion of the said rent and quit rent ; and besides over and above, for the rights whereof we have divested ourselves, the sum of ten livres for each year on the 20th day of March. Said Francois Fafard shall not be permitted to sell or trade brandy to Indians, on pain of confiscation and loss of his habitation, and of the brandy found thereon, or effects received for the same ; and if the said purchaser in the whole or in part is an inhabitant, and pays the sum of ten livres for the rights whereof we have divested ourselves, he shall pay us only the quit rent and rents of his acquisition, and not the sum of ten livres over and above ; and if the habitation of the said Francois Fafard passes into other hands, in whatever manner it may be, and that he be or become proprietor of another piece of ground, house, or habitation, the said Francois Fafard shall pay us, our heirs and assigns for ever, the sum of ten livres for the rights whereof we have divested ourselves, besides the quit rent and rent of the habitation, piece of ground, or house ; and in case the said Francois Fafard remains without possession of any land, house, or habitation, he shall be divested of all the privileges to him granted by this present concession. In consideration and generally of all the claims, charges and conditions aforesaid towards us, our heirs and assigns, the said Francois Fafard, his heirs and assigns, shall hold and enjoy the said concession ; shall sell and trade as well with the French as with the Indians, in conforming himself to the regulations and to the orders of his Majesty.

Done at Fort Pontchartrain, 10th of March, 1707.

LANOTHE CADILLAC.

These grants were generally required to be confirmed by the King of France ; but from certain causes which prevailed at that period, only three legal grants were made under the French Government. To some of these tracts back concessions were subsequently granted. Subsequent grants were made to French citizens by Bellestre and other of the French commandants ; but it appears that these were unauthorized, and were never confirmed by the king of France.

NOTE V.—Page 61.

THE subjoined petition from sundry inhabitants of Detroit, to stay a trespass on a mill, exhibits the mode of legal proceedings throughout the posts in Michigan under the French dominion.

“To Messrs. De Celoron, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, Commandant for the King at Fort Detroit, Landrieve, doing the duty of Commissary and Deputy Intendent of New France in the said place.

“The inhabitants of Detroit humbly represent to you, gentlemen, that the mill situated on the farm of Claude Campeau is of an indispensable necessity and convenience for the public. They have heard that the named Cabacier, an inhabitant of Detroit, was seeking the means to have it demolished under the pretext that the corner of his meadow was inundated by the said mill. It is easily seen, that it is by a spirit of *incompatibility* and contradiction towards his neighbors ; for in summer his meadow is dry, and in winter the water has its natural course, the said mill not going on account of the ice. This mill was constructed by the consent of M. De Boishebert, formerly commandant in this fort, as a thing useful to the public, and a long time before the concession of the

land of the said Cabacier. If this mill had given any prejudice to the meadow, which is alongside of his land, the first proprietors would not have failed to make representations on that subject. The said mill has always subsisted till now without any interruption, it being, besides, erected on the land of its proprietor.

"This being considered, may it please you, gentlemen, taking into view the public advantage and convenience, to order that the said mill shall continue as before; it being, besides, the only one handy to this fort, and which goes the greatest part of the year; to forbid the said Cabacier and all others to attempt any depredation on the said mill, and to trouble the owner, on pain of damages, costs, and interest, and you shall do justice.

"PIERRE RHEAUME,	JAKUES CARDINAL,
CHAPOTON,	CARLE MORAN,
LE GRAND,	BELLE PERCHE,
JEAN BAPTISTE MALLET,	WIDOW CARRON,
ZACINTHE REAUME,	ANTOINE CAMPEAU,
CECIRE,	JEAN BORDE,
JEAN PILET,	JEAN BAPTISTE CAMPEAUX,
JAKUES GODDELTE,	LA BUTTE,
NICHOLAS LENCIR,	JEAN MIL HOMME,
LAURENT PARENT,	BARTHE,
J. BLONDEAU."	

"Having seen the above, and no title having appeared to us, we order that the parties do apply to the Governor and the Intendant; and the mill shall remain in its present situation until the decision of the Governor and the Intendant is had.

"Done at Detroit, the 30th June, 1753

"LANDRIEVE, CELORON.

"After having seen the foregoing petition, we order that the named Campeaux be in peaceable possession of the said mill, having given due regard to the opinion of Messrs. Celoron and Landrieve.

"Done at Montreal, 22d August, 1753.

"DU QUESNE."

NOTE VI.—Page 126.

The following Indian Grant was made on the 26th of May, 1771, to Mr. Robert Navarre.

26th May, 1771. } Nous les chefs des Tribus de la nation des Pouteowatamis au
 } Detroit, avons delibere et donne de notre volonte une terre de
 } quatre arpents de large sur toute la profondeur sitnée a notre an-
 } cien village a Robiere fils de l'Ecrivain. Nous lui donnons cette terre pou tou-
 } jours afin qu'il ait soin de nos morts, et pour surete de nos paroles nous avons
 } fait nos marques apprivees de deux branches de porcelaine.

Unknown totem,	Unknown,
OUIATENNI,	OUABIDCCHIGOI,
Unknown	Unknown,
MATCHEOCEQUIFFE,	KIOGOCET,

Unknown,	A Fish,
CHIBANAGO,	HANCLOUIS,
Two Arrows,	An Elk,
KIA,	OACHIG,
Unknown,	Unknown,
MAHISABIFIT,	ALCHIMA,
A Deer,	Singoin,
ESKIBI,	NINTA.

Ratifié par L'honorable Henry Basset, Major Commandant au Detroit, Le quinze juillet, 1772, presence de Mr. George McDougall, et le Chefs Poutewatemis, et Robert Navarre fils mis en ponention dans les forme presenter au nom de sa Majestie, et conformement aux ordres de son Excellence.

NOTE VII.—Page 166.

A TREATY of peace between the United States of America and the tribes of Indians called the Wyandots, Delawares, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, Potawatamies, Miamis, Eell River, Weeas, Kickapoos, Kankashaws and Kaskies.

To put an end to a destructive war, to settle all controversies, and to restore harmony and a friendly intercourse between the said United States and Indian tribes: Anthony Wayne, Major-General, commanding the army of the United States, and sole commissioner for the good purposes above-mentioned, and the said tribes of Indians by their sachems, chiefs, and warriors, met together at Greenville, the head-quarters of the said army, have agreed on the following Articles, which, when ratified by the President with the advice and consent of the senate of the United States, shall be binding on them and the said Indian tribes.

Article 1.—Henceforth all hostilities shall cease; peace is hereby established, and shall be perpetual; and a friendly intercourse shall take place between the said United States and Indian tribes.

Article 2.—All prisoners shall on both sides be restored. The Indians, prisoners to the United States, shall be immediately set at liberty. The people of the United States still remaining prisoners among the Indians, shall be delivered up, in ninety days from the date hereof, to the General or commanding officer at Greenville, Fort Wayne, or Fort Defiance; and ten chiefs of the said tribes shall remain at Greenville as hostages, until the delivery of the prisoners shall be effected.

Article 3.—The general boundary line between the lands of the United States and the lands of the said Indian tribes, shall begin at the mouth of Wyahoga river, and run thence up the same to the portage between that and the Tuscaroras branch of the Muskingum; thence down that branch to the crossing place above Fort Lawrence, thence westerly to a bart of that branch of the Great Miami River, running into the Ohio at or near which Kerk stood, Loromie's store, and where commences the portage between the Miami of the Ohio and St. Mary's River, which is a branch of the Miami which runs into Lake Erie; thence a westerly course to Fort Recovery, which stands on a branch of the Wabash; thence south-westerly in a direct line to the Ohio, so as to intersect that river opposite the mouth of Kentucky or Cattawa

River. And, in consideration of the peace now established, of the goods formerly received from the United States, of those now to be delivered, and of the yearly delivery of goods now stipulated to be made hereafter; and to indemnify the United States for the injuries and expenses they have sustained during the war; the said Indian tribes do hereby cede and relinquish for ever all their claims to the lands lying eastwardly and southwardly of the general boundary line now described; and those lands, or any part of them, shall never hereafter be made a cause or pretence, on the part of the said tribes, or any of them, of war or injury to the United States or any of the people thereof.

And for the same considerations, and as an evidence of the returning friendship of the said Indian tribes, of their confidence in the United States, and desire to provide for their accommodation, and for that convenient intercourse which will be beneficial to both parties, the said Indian tribes do also cede to the United States the following pieces of land; to wit, (1) One piece of land, six miles square, at or near Loronomie's store before mentioned: (2) one piece two miles square at the head of the navigable water or landing on the St. Mary's River, near Girty's town: (3) one piece six miles square, at the head of the navigable water of the Au Glaize river: (4) one piece six miles square at the confluence of the Au Glaize and Miami river, where Fort Defiance now stands: (5) one piece, six miles square, at or near the confluence of the rivers St. Mary's and St. Joseph's, where Fort Wayne now stands, or near it: (6) one piece, two miles square, on the Wabash River, at the end of the portage from the Miami of the Lake, and about eight miles westward from Fort Wayne: (7) one piece, six miles square, as the Ouatanon, or old Weea towns on the Wabash River: (8) one piece, twelve miles square, at the British Fort on the Miami of the Lake at the foot of the Rapids: (9) one piece, six miles square, at the mouth of the said river, where it empties into the lake: (10) one piece six miles square, upon Sandusky Lake, where a fort formerly stood: (11) one piece, two miles square, at the lower rapids of Sandusky River: (12) the Post of Detroit, and all the land to the north, the west, and the south of it, of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English governments: and so much more land to be annexed to the District of Detroit as shall be comprehended between the River Rosine on the south, Lake St. Clair on the north, and a line, the general course whereof shall be six miles distant from the west end of Lake Erie and Detroit River: (13) the post of Michilimackinac, and all the land on the island on which that post stands, and the main land adjacent of which the Indian title has been extinguished by gifts or grants to the French or English Governments; and a piece of land on the main to the north of the island, to measure six miles on Lake Huron, or the strait between Lake Huron and Michigan, and to extend three miles back from the water of the lake or strait; and also the island de Bois Blanc, being an extra and voluntary gift of the Chippewa nation: (14) one piece of land, of six miles square, at the mouth of Chikajo River, emptying into the south-west end of Lake Michigan, where a fort formerly stood: (15) one piece, twelve miles square, at or near the mouth of the Illinois river, emptying into the Mississippi: (16) one piece, six miles square, at the old Piorias fort

and village near the south end of the Illinois Lake on said Illinois River ; and whenever the United States shall think proper to survey and mark the boundaries of the land hereby ceded to them, they shall give timely notice thereof to the said tribes of Indians, that they may appoint some of their wise chiefs to attend, and see that the lines are run according to the terms of the treaty.

And the said Indian tribes will allow to the people of the United States a free passage by land and by water, as one and the other shall be found convenient, through their country, along the chain of posts herein before mentioned ; that is to say, from the commencement of the portage aforesaid at or near Loromie's store ; thence along the said portage to the St. Mary's, and down the same to Fort Wayne, and then down the Miami to Lake Erie. Again, from the commencement of the portage at or near Loromie's store along the portage ; from thence to the river Au Glaize, and down the same to its junction with the Miami at Fort Defiance. Again, from the commencement of the portage to Sandusky River, and down the same to Sandusky Bay and Lake Erie ; and from Sandusky to the post which shall be taken at or near the foot of the rapids of the Miami of the Lake ; and from thence to Detroit. Again, from the mouth of Chikago to the commencement of the portage between that river and the Illinois, and down the Illinois River to the Mississippi ; also from Fort Wayne along the portage aforesaid which leads to the Wabash, and then down the Wabash to the Ohio. And the said Indian tribes will also allow to the people of the United States the free use of the harbors and mouths of rivers along the lakes adjoining the Indian lands, for sheltering vessels and boats, and liberty to land their cargoes when necessary for their safety.

Article 4. In consideration of the peace now established, and of the cessions and relinquishments of land made in the preceding article by the said tribes of Indians, and to manifest the liberality of the United States as the great means of rendering this peace strong and perpetual, the United States relinquish their claims to all other Indian lands northward of the river Ohio, eastward of the Mississippi, and westward and southward of the great lakes, and the waters uniting them, according to the boundary line agreed on by the United States and the King of Great Britain in the treaty of peace made between them in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

But from this relinquishment by the United States the following tracts of land are explicitly excepted :

1st. The Tract of one hundred and fifty thousand acres near the rapids of the river Ohio, which has been assigned to General Clark for the use of himself and his warriors.

2nd. The Post of St. Vincennes, on the river Wabash, and the lands adjacent, of which the Indian title has been extinguished.

3rd. The Lands at all other places in possession of the French people, and other white settlers among them, of which the Indian title has been extinguished as mentioned in the third article ; and,

4th. The Post of Fort Massae, towards the mouth of the Ohio. To which several parcels of land so excepted, the said tribes relinquish all the title and claim which they or any of them may have.

And for the same considerations, and with the same views as above mentioned, the United States now deliver to the said Indian tribes a quantity of

goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, the receipt whereof they do hereby acknowledge ; and henceforward every year for ever, the United States will deliver, at some convenient place northward of the river Ohio, like useful goods, suited to the circumstances of the Indians, to the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars ; reckoning that value as the first cost of the goods in the city or place of the United States where they shall be procured. The tribes to which those goods are to be annually delivered, and the proportions in which they are to be delivered, are the following : 1st. To the Wyandots the amount of one thousand dollars. 2nd. To the Delawares the amount of one thousand dollars. 3rd. To the Shawnese the amount of one thousand dollars. 4th. To the Miamas the amount of one thousand dollars. 5th. To the Ottawas the amount of one thousand dollars. 6th. To the Chippewas the amount of one thousand dollars. 7th. To the Potawattamies the amount of one thousand dollars. 8th. To the Kickapoo, Lorra, Eell River, Kankashaws, and Kaskaskias tribes, the amount of five hundred dollars each.

Provided, That if either of the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of their share of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensils convenient for them, and in compensation to useful artificers, who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit, the same shall at the subsequent annual deliveries be furnished accordingly.

Article 5. To prevent any misunderstanding about the Indian lands relinquished by the United States in the fourth article, it is now explicitly declared that the meaning of that relinquishment is this : The Indian tribes, who have a right to those lands, are quietly to enjoy them ; hunting, planting, and dwelling thereon so long as they please without any molestation from the United States ; but when those tribes, or any of them, shall be disposed to sell their lands or any part of them, they are to be sold only to the United States ; and until such sales, the United States will protect all the said Indian tribes in the quiet enjoyment of their lands against all citizens of the United States, and against all other white persons who intrude upon the same ; and the said Indian tribes again acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and no other power whatever.

Article 6. If any citizen of the United States, or any other white person or persons, shall presume to settle upon the lands now relinquished by the United States, such citizen or other person shall be out of the protection of the United States ; and the Indian tribe, on whose lands the settlement shall be made, may drive off the settler, or punish him in such a manner as they shall think fit ; and because such settlements, made without the consent of the United States, will be injurious to them as well as to the Indians, the United States shall be at liberty to break them up, and remove and punish the settlers as they shall think proper, and so effect that protection of the Indian lands herein before stipulated.

Article 7. The said tribes of Indians, parties to this treaty, shall be at liberty to hunt within the territory and lands which they have now ceded to the United States without hindrance or molestation, so long as they demean themselves peaceably, and offer no injury to the people of the United States.

Article 8. Trade shall be opened with the said Indian tribes ; and they do hereby respectively engage to afford protection to such persons, with their pro-

party, as shall be duly licensed to reside among them, for the purpose of trade, and to their agents and servants ; but no person shall be permitted to reside at any of their towns or hunting camps as a trader, who is not furnished with a license for that purpose under the hand and seal of the superintendant of the department north-west of the Ohio, or such other persons as the President of the United States shall authorize to examine such licenses, to the end that the said Indians may not be imposed on in their trade ; and if any licensed trader shall abuse his privilege by unfair dealing, upon complaint and proof thereof his license shall be taken from him, and he shall be further punished according to the laws of the United States. And if any person shall intrude himself as a trader without such license, the said Indians shall take and bring him before the superintendant or his deputy, to be dealt with according to law ; and to prevent impositions by forged licenses, the said Indians shall, at least once a year, give information to the superintendant or his deputies of the names of the traders residing among them.

Article 9. Lest the firm peace and friendship now established should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, the United States and the said Indian tribes agree, that for injuries done by individuals on either side no private revenge or retaliation shall take place ; but, instead thereof, complaint shall be made by the party injured to the other,—by the said Indian tribes or any of them to the President of the United States, or the superintendant by him appointed ; and by the superintendant or other person appointed by the President, to the principal Chiefs of the Indian tribes, or of the tribe to which the offender belongs ; and such prudent measures shall then be pursued, as shall be necessary to preserve the said peace and friendship unbroken, until the Legislature (or Great Council,) of the United States shall make other equitable provision in the case to the satisfaction of both parties. Should any Indian tribes meditate a war against the United States, or either of them, and the same shall come to the knowledge of the before-mentioned tribes or either of them, they do hereby engage to give notice thereof to the General or officer commanding the troops of the United States at the nearest post. And should any tribe, with hostile intentions against the United States, or either of them, attempt to pass through their country, they will endeavor to prevent the same ; and in like manner give information of such attempt to the General or officer commanding as soon as possible, that all causes of mistrust and suspicion may be avoided between them and the United States.

In like manner the United States shall give notice to the said Indian tribes of any harm that may be meditated against them, or either of them, that shall come their knowledge ; and do all in their power to hinder and prevent the same, that the friendship between them may be uninterrupted.

Article 10. All other treaties heretofore made between the United States and the said Indian tribes, or any of them, since the treaty of 1783 between the United States and Great Britain, that come within the provisions of this treaty, shall henceforth cease and become void.

Done at Greenville, in the territory of the United States, north-west of the river Ohio, on the third day of August, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five.

ANTHONY WAYNE, (L. S.)

NOTE VIII.—Page 219.

Early Travellers through the Lakes.

THE progress of discovery through the region of the north-western lakes may be dated back to a distant period. The sources of our information have been increased from time to time by numerous adventurers who published journals of their travels. Among those volumes to which reference has here been made, are books which were written previous to the year 1767, and a list of which is here subjoined.

Father Louis Hennepin was a Catholic missionary of the Franciscan order, and was one of a party which explored the Mississippi River, and originally accompanied La Salle from France. The journal which he published of his travels throws light on the condition of Canada.

The Baron La Hontan, a French soldier in the employment of the French Government, was for some time commandant of a fort on the lakes. In 1703 he published, in London, his voyages to North America, in which he is styled "Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia in Newfoundland." This work appeared in two volumes; it abounds in graphic sketches, and although in some points erroneous, exhibits much knowledge of the world and shrewd observation.

Peter Francis Xavier de Charlevoix, a Jesuit, was born at St. Quentin in 1682, and made a tour of the American lakes in 1721 under the auspices of the French Government. The Mississippi scheme was then creating great excitement, and individuals were engaged in seeking gold and silver in Louisiana. His tour extended through Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. He then descended the Illinois and Mississippi to New Orleans, which had been then recently settled; and he there embarked for France. Beside a General History of New France in three volumes, he published a journal of his tour through the lakes. These works bear the stamp of a rich and well-regulated mind, and are written in a style of great beauty and eloquence. Charlevoix died in 1761.

Robert Rogers was a citizen of New Hampshire. He was a sturdy and adventurous soldier, and for some time Governor of Michilimackinac. To him was entrusted the expedition which was sent out by Gen. Amherst, after the surrender of Michigan by France to England in 1759. Beside a work entitled "A Concise Account of North America," he published a journal of his expedition to Detroit when he took possession of the posts of Michigan.

Alexander Henry, Esq. visited the lakes in 1760, and spent sixteen years in traversing the wilderness of the north-west. He published his observations upon the country in 1809.

Jonathan Carver was descended from a family in Connecticut, and was distinguished for a persevering and adventurous mind. The date of his travels is 1766, 1777, and 1778; and the result of his observations was published in London, and afterwards republished in this country.

NOTE IX.

BY WILLIAM HULL,

Brigadier-general and Commander-in-chief of the North-western army of the United States.

A PROCLAMATION.

Inhabitants of Canada,

After thirty years of peace and prosperity, the United States have been driven to arms. The injuries and aggressions, the insults and indignities of Great Britain, have left them no alternative but manly resistance or unconditional submission. The army under my command has invaded your country, and the standard of the Union now waves over the territory of Canada. To the peaceable, unoffending inhabitants it brings neither danger nor difficulty. I come to find enemies, not to make them ; I come to protect, not to injure you. Separated by an immense ocean and an extensive wilderness from Great Britain, you have no participation in her councils, no interest in her conduct ; you have felt her tyranny, you have seen her injustice ; but I do not ask you to revenge the one or to redress the other. The United States are sufficiently powerful to afford every security consistent with their rights and your expectations. I tender you the invaluable blessing of civil, political, and religious liberty ; and their necessary result, individual and general prosperity. That liberty which gave decision to our councils and energy to our conduct in a struggle for independence, and which conducted us safe and triumphantly through the stormy period of the revolution. That liberty which has raised us to an elevated rank among the nations of the world, and which afforded us a greater measure of peace, and security of wealth, and improvement, than ever fell to the lot of any country. In the name of my country, and by the authority of Government, I promise you protection to your persons, property, and rights. Remain at your homes ; pursue your peaceful and customary avocations ; raise not your hand against your brethren. Many of your fathers fought for the freedom and independence we now enjoy. Being children, therefore, of the same family with us, and heirs to the same heritage, the arrival of an army of friends must be hailed by you with a cordial welcome. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression, and restored to the dignified station of freemen. Had I any doubt of eventual success, I might ask your assistance ; but I do not ; I come prepared for every contingency. I have a force which will look down all opposition, and that force is the van-guard of a much greater. If, contrary to your own interest and the just expectation of my country, you should take part in the approaching contest, you will be considered and treated as enemies ; and the horrors and calamities of war will stalk before you. If the barbarous and savage policy of Great Britain be pursued, and the savages be let loose to murder our citizens and butcher our women and children, this war will be a war of extermination. The first stroke of the tomahawk, the first attempt with the scalping-knife, will be the sequel of one indiscriminate scene of desolation. No white man found fighting by the side of an Indian will be taken prisoner ; instant destruction will be his lot. If the dictates of reason, duty, justice, and humanity cannot prevent the employment of a force which respects no rights and knows no wrong, it will be prevented by a severe and relentless system of retaliation. I doubt not your courage and firmness ; I will not doubt your at-

tachment to liberty. The United States offer you peace, liberty, and security ; your choice lies between these, and war, slavery, and destruction. Chose, then, but choose wisely ; and may He who knows the justice of our cause, and who holds in his hands the fate of nations, guide you to a result the most compatible with your rights and interests, your peace and happiness.

By the General,

A. P. HULL,

Captain of the 13th U. S. Reg't. of Infantry and Aid-de-Camp.

Head-Quarters, Sandwich, July 12th, 1812.

NOTE X.

THE following is the greater portion of the valuable Report of Dr. Houghton, the State geologist, in 1838.

That portion of our State usually denominated the Peninsula, while few, if any, portions of it, are of so rugged a character as to prevent its use for the purposes of agriculture, is, nevertheless, far from what was once supposed, a level and unbroken plain. Its rocks, consisting for the most part of nearly horizontal strata of limestones, sandstones, and shales, give character to a beautifully varied succession of hills and valleys, as also to a soil admirably adapted to the purposes of agriculture. It is surrounded by a level belt of country, which gradually obtains a greater elevation as we proceed towards the interior, varying in width from five to forty miles, and miles, and for the most part covered with a dense forest ; while the interior and more undulating portions give rise to a varied succession of prairies, oak openings and timbered lands.

This general description, which may be supposed to apply more particularly to those counties of the state already organized, will, I have no doubt, apply nearly equally well to that portion of the state not yet surveyed. I allude to this the more particularly, since the opinion is abroad among our citizens that the northern portions of our state are of little or no value, except for lumber, and that it consists of alternating barren ridges of pine and marsh.

This opinion, so far as the country has been examined, and from the best information which can be obtained on the subject, is far from the truth. For, while it embraces, like the southern counties, prairies, oak openings, and lands timbered with hard wood, many of those portions timbered with pine, it is conceived, will eventually prove of great value in an agricultural point of view.

The great number of streams having their sources in the central portions of the peninsula, and discharging their waters in every direction into the lakes by which it is surrounded, give a peculiar feature to the geography of the country. Several of these streams are navigable for boats of light draft for a much longer distance than could have been anticipated, and they give rise to an amount of hydraulic power far exceeding what has usually been supposed, and which will eventually prove of immense value to our state. In pursuing the investigation of the past season, I have found it necessary to examine several of the most important of these streams through their whole extent, and I could not fail to observe the great purity of their waters, together with the rapidity of their descent. Their sloping banks, which are usually of but moderate height, are composed of the richest soil ; but occasionally their banks attain, at an inconsider-

able distance from the stream, an altitude of from one hundred to two hundred feet, as at some points in the valley of Grand river.

Portions of the central and most elevated counties of the peninsula are considerably rough and broken, though, it is believed, in few instances sufficiently so to prevent a successful cultivation of the soil. This undulating or hilly portion of our state extends through parts of the counties of Hillsdale, Jackson, Washtenaw, Ingham, Eaton, Livingston, Oakland, Ionia, Kent, and some portions of the adjoining counties; as also far to the north of Kent county, in the unsurveyed district. The hills do not appear to be disposed with any regularly formed valleys, but consist of an irregular assemblage of somewhat conical elevations and depressions, occasionally attaining an elevation of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet, but ordinarily not more than from thirty to forty feet.

The topography of that portion of our state bordering upon Lake Superior, is very different from that of the peninsula. The occasional appearance of primary and trap rocks forming mountain chains, and the great disturbance which has taken place since the deposition of the red sandstone, has given to the whole country a more rugged aspect; and while many of the valleys and elevated plains furnish a rich and permanent soil, covered with a dense forest, the mountain chains of primary rock have all the meagreness of soil usually attendant on these formations.

Upper Sandstone of the Peninsula.

Occupying the central and most elevated portions of the peninsula, and over a large district of country, embracing parts of the counties of Hillsdale, Jackson, Calhoun, Kalamazoo, Livingston, Ingham, Eaton, Barry, Shiawassee, Clinton, the eastern part of Ionia, and probably portions of the adjoining counties, which want of time did not permit me to examine, the outcropping edge of sandstone is seen, occasionally alternating with shale. Its friable nature is such that the rock soon becomes covered with soil from disintegration and vegetable deposits, in such a manner as to conceal it from view, and thus to have led our early inhabitants to suppose the appearance of rock near the surface to be of rare occurrence; but as the country has become settled, rock has been found near the surface in hundreds of places where it was formerly supposed not to exist, and it may be fairly inferred, that as the country becomes cultivated, this will continue to be the result.

This rock formation, which is referable to the carboniferous series, will, without doubt, be found to be a continuation of the great coal measures of Ohio, and present appearances would seem to warrant the conclusion that it extends nearly or quite to the northern termination of the peninsula. I have thus far been unable to arrive at any very satisfactory conclusions as to its thickness or general inclination.

Its superficial extent has undoubtedly been much lessened; for, after passing the edge of the sandstone, the soil is invariably found to contain disintegrated portions of the rock, with occasional loose pieces of bituminous coal, the latter sometimes appearing in quantities of several bushels at a single place.

Portions of the sandstone on the western slope of the peninsula, more particularly in the counties of Calhoun, and parts of Jackson and Hillsdale, the forma-

tion is much shattered, as if broken by the irregular rising and sinking of small districts of country, a result which could scarcely be conceived to have taken place by any other than rapid and irregular motion. The original continuity of strata is almost completely destroyed, and so much is the rock shattered, that at several points in Calhoun county, wells were seen sunk through the rock from twenty to forty feet, and where the excavation required but little more labor than would have been required to sink through an equal depth of earth. The masses of rock thrown out rarely exceed a foot or eighteen inches in superficial extent, and many were of a smaller size; still, though so much broken, no portions of the rock were much inclined, and it appeared to have retained measurably its original horizontal position. The interstices between these portions of rock not being filled with earth, admit the free passage of water through them, the result of which is, the appearance, at particular points, of large springs of water, and a paucity of small streams upon the surface.

Near Jonesville, in Hillsdale county, several quarries of sandstone have been opened, but not sufficiently to give very much information of their true condition. The upper portions are of a loose and friable nature, and the layers from two to four inches in thickness; but where the excavations have been carried to a depth of from ten to twelve feet, they attain a thickness of nearly one foot, and the character of the rock, for economical purposes, is much improved.

At Napoleon, in Jackson county, the sandstone appears at numerous points, having a slight inclination south-westerly. It is composed of angular grains of quartzose sand, united by a very slight calcareous cement. The stone is of a good quality for architectural purposes, and admits of being easily quarried. It has already been considerably used for buildings, grindstones, &c.

In descending Grand river, the rock appears again at Jacksonburgh, and over many miles of the surrounding country, having a slight dip, like that at Napoleon, south-westerly. Several quarries have been opened in the immediate vicinity of Jacksonburgh, and a finely shaped and tolerably compact and durable material for building, furnished. I here first noticed fossil vegetable remains, chiefly referable to the genera *Lepidodendron*, *Stigmaria*, and *Calamites*, together with small masses of carbonaceous matter, associated with the sand rock. A little north of the village, clay ironstone occurs, disseminated through the rocks; as also in thin beds and veins, but not in sufficient quantities to be of any practical importance. Numerous kettle-shaped excavations, similar to those produced by pebbles when set in motion by the action of a strong current, occur in the sandstone, and not unfrequently at a distance from the river, and at an elevation of some thirty or forty feet above it.

In the bed and bank of the river, a little above the crossing of the road at Jacksonburgh, the sandstone is seen to embrace a bed of bituminous shale. The shale is overlaid by two and a half feet of slaty sandstone, and about two feet appear above the surface of the water. Portions of this shale have nearly the appearance of semi-indurated clay, much charged with carbonaceous matter; but at a distance of several rods below, the water, by falling over a dam, has thrown out large quantities of shale, intermixed with very thin layers of coal; and the whole being highly charged with bituminous matter, was at first mistaken by the inhabitants for coal. These indications were matters of considerable interest, since the shales are well known to be the usual associates of coal,

and occurring, as they do, in the coal-bearing rock, a reasonable hope may undoubtedly be entertained of the existence of coal in that section of country.

Near the mouth of Portage river, a few miles north of Jacksonburgh, a stratum of line rock appears, and what is probably a continuation of the same stratum, is seen westerly at Bellvue and several intermediate points. This lime rock, which occurs in flat, irregular masses, separated by thin coverings of an exceedingly tenacious clay, and without any regular line of stratification, upon burning produces a superior lime, and, aside from its irregular shape, would prove a valuable building stone. The stratum must, however, be considered as of no great thickness, since the sandstone appears again at a lower level, a few miles north westerly. The limestone is of a light greyish color, and exceedingly compact; and although numerous perforations of lithodromous mollusca were observed, after a minute examination I was unable to detect any fossils.

In descending Grand river, the sandstone is seen at intervals in the bed of the stream, as also sometimes attaining a considerable elevation upon its banks, through the counties of Jackson, Ingham, Eaton, Clinton, and the south-eastern part of Ionia. It was last noticed in the bed of the stream a few miles above the mouth of Looking-glass river. In general character it bears much resemblance to that at Jacksonburgh, and bituminous shale is occasionally seen alternating with it.

In the northern part of Eaton county, the rock is seen at several places in a mural wall of from thirty to forty feet in height.

At many points where the rock was examined in the counties enumerated, carbonaceous matter and vegetable impressions were associated with it. These were more particularly noticed in Ingham and Eaton counties, where very thin beds of coal, varying from half an inch to three inches, and in one instance two feet in thickness, occur in slate, usually underlaying an irregular and inconsiderable deposit of clay ironstone.

Sand rock occurs on the Kalamazoo river at Battle Creek, and quarries have been partially opened at that place. Portions of the rock which have been quarried, furnish a tolerably good building stone; but from the frequent occurrence of nodular masses of iron pyrites, much care is required in its selection.

Quarries have been opened more extensively at Marshall, and a building stone of good quality is found; but here, as at Battle creek, iron pyrites, though not in so large quantities, occasionally occurs, embedded in it.

In ascending the Kalamazoo river, via Albion, the sand rock occurs at short intervals, having much the same appearance at Marshall, as also at numerous points between the latter place and Spring Arbor, in Jackson county.

On the Shiawassee river in Shiawassee county, the sand rock was first seen in the bed of the stream from four to five miles above Corunna, (the county town of Shiawassee co.,) and continues at intervals as far as from four to five miles below Owosso on the same river. The dip is here slightly north or north-easterly. The rock was not seen at any point to attain any great elevation. In general appearance it bears a strong resemblance to that of Jackson county, but much of it contains sufficient mica to give it a somewhat slaty structure. About one mile above Corunna, upon the right bank of the river, it has been quarried in small quantities; and although loose in its texture, will answer tolerably well for walls. Here numerous indistinct impressions of plants were seen, with small pieces of

coal, the latter retaining its general ligniform structure, but perfectly charred. Half a mile below Owasso the rock appears in the bed of the stream, and is more compact in its structure.

Near Shiawassee town, (above Corunna,) the outcropping edge of a stratum of limestone, similar in general appearance to that at Jacksonburgh, makes its appearance, dipping north-easterly. It is evidently a stratum embraced in the sandstone.

Grey Limestone.

Underlying the sandstone already described; and occurring near the borders of the peninsula, is a grey colored limestone, which may, without doubt, be considered identical with the mountain limestone of European geologists.

The outcropping edge of this rock may be traced from the rapids of Maunee river in Ohio, directly to the rapids of the River Raisin at the city of Monroe. At the latter place, and in the country immediately surrounding, where there is only a superficial covering of earth, extensive quarries have been opened, and limestone of a superior quality for building, as also tolerably well adapted to the manufacture of lime, is procured.

In ascending the River Raisin this rock is occasionally seen as far as Dundee, where it forms the bed of the river. As we ascend the river from Monroe, so far as a limited examination enables me to judge, the rock becomes more quartzose in its character, which renders it nearly unfitted for the manufacture of lime, but does not lessen its value as a material for building.

About five miles north-west from Monroe, and two miles distant from the river, this sandy lime rock was seen in a state of disintegration, giving rise to beds of beautifully white quartzose sand, better adapted to the manufacture of the finer kinds of glass than any I have seen in our state.

Between Monroe and Brest the lime rock appears in the beds of the small streams, and occasionally at other points; and in no place is it covered by a great depth of soil. At Stoney Point the rock again appears, and at several points along the coast, or a little in the interior. It also occurs in the vicinity of Gibraltar, and is last seen on this shore, at Monguagon, fifteen miles below Detroit, at which place quarries of considerable extent have been opened, for the purpose of supplying the city of Detroit with building stone and lime. A quarry has been for many years opened on Grosse Isle, as also on the Canada shore in the vicinity of Amherstburg.

Proceeding north-easterly from Monguagon, the rock soon becomes covered with a considerable depth of superincumbent earth, and at Detroit is found to be a little more than one hundred feet below the surface of the river.

Nothing indicating the approach of the rock to the surface was observed in Macomb county; but in the western part of St. Clair, angular fragments of the rock were seen, occurring under circumstances which would seem to indicate the approach of the formation to the surface. The same was also noticed in portions of the counties of Oakland, Lapeer, the northern part of Shiawassee, and in Midland, near the forks of the Tittabawassa river. The rock occurs in a place on Charity islands of Saginaw bay, and also on the northern shore at Point au Gres.

On the westerly slope of the peninsula, a lime rock occurs at the rapids of Grand river, which is undoubtedly identical with that last noticed. About two

miles north of Grand rapids, the rock appears of a superior quality for economical purposes, in a sloping talus of from twenty to thirty feet. It also occurs at the rapids of Mashkegon river, and will, no doubt, be found extending a long distance north from the last-mentioned stream.

Associated with the rock, we find calcareous spar at nearly all the localities noted; irregular hog-tooth spar at Monroe; sulphate of strontian at Brest and Grosse Isle; tremolite at Brest; sulphate of barytes, brown spar, and gypsum at Grand rapids; and the latter mineral will, undoubtedly, be found associated at the rapids of Mashkegon, and on the north shore of Saginaw bay.

The rock is more or less fossiliferous at most of the points where it was examined, but more particularly so at Monguagon and Grand rapids. At the former place thin pieces of carbonaceous matter, as also small cavities filled with bitumen, are occasionally seen; and the rock is extremely foetid. The excavations in the rock have been so slight, and so small a portion is exposed, that the opportunities for examining the fossils are extremely limited, and many of those procured for examination were in so mutilated a condition, as to preclude all possibility of drawing any specific distinctions.*

The limestone is, for the most part, of a subgranular structure, quite compact, and well adapted to agricultural purposes; and, although at many points it is capable of producing a valuable lime upon burning, it is not unfrequently too siliceous to answer that purpose.

Lower Sandstone or Graywack Group.

About thirty miles above Fort Gratiot, and on the immediate shore of Lake Huron, a greenish colored clay slate, alternating with compact and slaty sandstone, is seen attaining an altitude of from ten to twenty feet. In coasting along the shore, rocks of a similar character occur at intervals as far as Point Aux Barques. But at the latter place, and for several miles around, the sandstone is not accompanied by shale.

The sandrock at Point Aux Barques differs materially in general character from that in the central portions of the state; for it is nearly or quite destitute of fossils, and is highly micaceous and flaggy in structure. The sandstone first noticed, as alternating with slate, is of a deep grey color, and the cement is mostly argillaceous.

The general dip of these rocks is south-westerly; and although not actually seen in contact with the mountain limestone, there can be no doubt but it passes under that rock formation. A rock stratum, which may be referred to the lower portion of this group, is seen in that portion of our state north of Lake Huron, on the St. Mary's river, where it is of a mottled or variegated color. The channel of the St. Mary's river appears to have been chiefly excavated from this rock, precisely at that point where its edge rested upon the primary rocks of Upper Canada.

In ascending Lake Superior, this red sandstone appears at numerous points, and occasionally attains a considerable altitude, as at the Pictured Rocks, where it rises in a mural wall of from two to three hundred feet. In the vicinity of

* The genera *Terebratula*, *Producta*, and *Cyathophyllum*, were observed both in the eastern and western portions of the state: *Orthocera*, *Bellerophon*, *Sarcinula*, *Spirifer*, *Natica*, *Encrinurus*, *Gorgonia*, *Madrepora*, *Retepora*, *Calymene* and *Asaphus* at Monguagon, and *Pecten* at Grand rapids.

Granite Point, it is seen, scarcely disturbed, resting upon nob's of primary rocks; while in the Trap regions of Lake Superior, as in the vicinity of the Porcupine mountains, it is seen dipping irregularly at a high angle from the elevated district of country, and is there of a deep reddish-brown color.

These sandstones are, for the most part, sufficiently compact to furnish a tolerably enduring material for building.

Coal.

Since that rock formation occupying the central portion of the peninsula, as has already been stated, may be referred to the carboniferous formation, I was early led to conclude that examinations for coal might be conducted with a probability of success; and as far as these examinations have been carried, I have not been disappointed in these conclusions. For the reason that the outcropping edge of the rock is almost invariably covered with soil, but few points occurring where it can be seen, these examinations are attended with the greatest difficulties; and, much time will, in all probability, be required to test the question of the existence of very extensive beds. Loose pieces of bituminous coal are found quite universally, in excavating the sand and gravel of the counties enumerated as bounding the carboniferous formation, and, no doubt, have their origin from the disintegration of the coal-bearing rock, and they occur over a district of country considerably more extensive than that now occupied by that formation.

Indications of coal were more particularly noticed at several places in Jackson, Ingham, Eaton, and Shiawassee counties, and it was occasionally seen in beds, rarely exceeding two or three inches in thickness. On Grindstone creek, in Eaton county, and in the immediate vicinity, a bed, having an average thickness of eighteen inches, and not exceeding two feet at any point, was examined along the base of the hills for about three fourths of a mile, where, in consequence of its dipping below the surface, I was unable to trace it farther. This bed is embraced in a succession of compact sandstones and fissile shales, varying in thickness from five to thirty feet. In consequence of the shattered condition of the sandstone at one point, I was enabled to remove some twenty or thirty bushels of the coal, which proved to be highly bituminous, and of a very good quality, though occasional pieces were observed slightly contaminated with iron pyrites. It ignites easily, burns with a bright flame, and leaves only a small quantity of earthy residuum.

The difficulties which surrounded the investigation of this important subject, it is to be hoped, will in a measure be overcome as the country becomes more settled; and we may look for much valuable information from the construction of our contemplated internal improvements, and more particularly that of the proposed canal, which will cross the coal formation at a point where we have reason to hope that beds of this mineral will be brought to light.

Gypsum.

Near Grand rapids, in Kent county, a bed of gypsum occurs, apparently of considerable extent. It is embraced in a bed of gypseous marl, and overlays the limestone before noticed as occurring in this neighborhood. Although the gypsum is only seen upon the surface at two or three points, and the beds have never been opened, I became satisfied, after a somewhat cursory examination, that it exists, covered with a few feet of soil, over a considerable district of country,

and that it cannot fail to prove a subject of much value to the agricultural interests of this and the adjoining parts of the state.

The gypsum is of the fibrous variety, nearly free from earthy matter, and is well adapted to nearly all the uses to which this valuable mineral is applied. The bed is distinctly stratified, the layers varying from twelve to fifteen inches in thickness, and they are separated from each other by argillaceous matter and earthy gypsum.

Plaster is also known to exist at several other points in our state, but sufficient examinations have not yet been made to throw any light upon the probable extent of the beds.

Brine Springs.

Looking upon every thing connected with the manufacture of salt as of the most vital importance to the interests of the state, and also bearing in mind the necessity of designating those springs selected for state purposes at as early a day as possible,* most of my minute examinations during the past season have been devoted to the brine springs of the peninsula; and since the most of these occur in those counties which are but sparsely populated, the examinations have been attended with labor of the most severe kind. Little or nothing of a definite character has hitherto been known respecting either the location or quality of these springs, and nothing of the geological circumstances under which they occur.

It has been known, from the earliest settlement of the country, that the Indians formerly supplied themselves with salt from springs occurring on the peninsula; numerous reservations of lands supposed to contain salt springs, have been made by the United States; and many years ago several unsuccessful attempts were made by individuals to manufacture salt. But after all, the fact that most of the springs reserved by the United States contain little else than some of the salts of lime and iron, and the failure in the original attempt to manufacture salt had, with much reason, given rise to doubts as to the existence of saline springs to any extent. In the examinations which have been made during the past season, I have endeavored, so far as has been in my power, to determine the southerly boundary of the saline district, the geological and geographical position of the different springs which have come under my observation, together with the comparative strength and purity of their waters. As these examinations, from the short time which has elapsed, have only been partial, and the deductions must necessarily be crude, I shall only offer at this time such observations and suggestions as I conceive to be of immediate practical importance, or as may tend to a better understanding of the general facts connected with the subject.

Saline indications of any importance have not been noticed south of a line drawn from Monroe, in Monroe county, to Granville, in Kent county; and although there are several indications in Wayne county, if the eastern point were removed to Mount Clemens, in Macomb county, the country lying north of that line would embrace all of much, or, in fact, of any consequence, with the exception of those on Saline river in Washtenaw county. This will be more

* It will be recollected, that by the act of admission, our state was permitted to select seventy-two sections of salt spring lands.

easily understood by reference to the location of the springs enumerated in Table No. 1,* which includes the most important springs examined.

These may be conveniently described as occurring in five somewhat distinct groups. First, those on Grand river, town six north: second, those on Maple river, towns eight and nine north: third, those on the Tittabawassa river, town fifteen north: fourth, those of Macomb county, town three north: fifth, those on Saline river, Washtenaw county, town four south. Several other groups are already known, and some additional springs have been partially examined; but in consequence of the imperfect nature of the present information, the details will not be set forth at this time.

The relative strength and purity of the waters of these springs will be seen at a glance by reference to the accompanying tables, numbered one and two; but this is by *no means* to be taken as a standard of the amount of solid matter which they would under ordinary circumstances be found to contain. The waters, with the exception of those taken from the springs numbered eighteen and nineteen, were invariably taken from the surface, and with the single exception of that numbered fifteen, under the most unfavorable circumstances. In consequence of the heavy rains of the past summer, most of the marshes in which the salines occur, have been deluged with fresh water; the streams have been so high that much difficulty has occurred in procuring even the diluted water, which has been the subject of this analysis, and in more than one instance has the high state of the water compelled me to abandon the examination.

In ascending Grand river from its mouth, we first notice the appearance of brine springs some three to four miles below the rapids in Kent county. These indications occur in the small marshes in the valley on either side of the river. The river is here bounded by hills having a considerable elevation, and which give to the country a somewhat rugged aspect.

It has already been mentioned that the bed of the river, at the rapids, is of lime rock, and it does not lie at any great depth in the neighboring portions of the valley. The gypsum, before noticed, occurs in the immediate vicinity of the more important springs.

Since the springs numbered four, five, six, seven, and eight, in Table No. 1, (although of a superior quality,) may be taken as the type of the others, my descriptions will be confined to these alone. From these the Indians in the surrounding country are reputed to have procured their salt at an early day, and these springs have been known from the earliest settlement of the country.

These salines occur separated only a few rods from each other, near the edge of a marsh containing about twenty acres, and their waters are discharged from small tumuli, in general appearance not unlike flattened ant hills. They are almost completely surrounded by an exuberant growth of *Chara*, upon the roots and stems of which is a pulverulent deposit of lime, which is usually considerably colored by iron. The calcareous deposit has not produced any induration, and the marsh is so completely softened in the immediate vicinity of the springs, that they are only approached by using the utmost caution. Small streams of water are constantly discharged from these several springs, which uniting at a short distance, and being joined by numerous springs of fresh wa-

* These Tables are to be found in the Report of Dr. Houghton, the State Geologist in 1838.

ter, give rise to an inconsiderable but permanent brook, which enters Grand river at a distance of a little less than eighty rods. Upon examining the several springs more closely, they are found to have a variable depth of from a few inches to two or three feet, and to vary in diameter from two to three feet. When the bottom is not concealed by the loose vegetable and ferruginous matter, which is sometimes retained by the exuberant growth of plants by which these springs are surrounded, it is seen to be composed of yellow sand with comminuted shells chiefly of *Lymnea*, *Melanea*, and *Pupa*, portions of which are kept in constant and rapid motion by the jets of water. This yellow sand is found to be based upon, or to contain, numerous boulders of primary rocks, at a very slight depth. The water discharged is perfectly transparent, with a slightly bluish tinge, and contains sufficient carbonic acid to give it a flavor not disagreeable. In only one spring was sulphuretted hydrogen observed, and it was in that instance regarded as purely accidental. The temperature of the different springs was found to range from 48° to 51° Fah., while the springs of fresh water in the vicinity would not vary very much from 52°.

The salines being situated at a lower level than most of the surrounding country, must necessarily be liable to great variation in strength and purity, according as the lateral springs are more or less increased or diminished. The sandy soil with calcareous gravel being superimposed upon lime rock, and containing small quantities of both sulphuret and carbonate of iron, must be a constant source of contamination, more particularly during, and immediately after, heavy rains; and to this admixture of substances perfectly foreign, must be ascribed the great variation shown by the analysis to exist in the mineral contents of waters taken at a distance of only a few rods from each other, and evidently having a common source.

Slight indications of saline waters are seen in the valley of Grand river near Ionia, but none were observed on that river above that point.

In ascending Maple river, saline indications were first observed in town eight north, range four west; and were seen to occur at distant intervals between that point and what may be considered as the head of navigation of the stream not far from the line between ranges one and two west. The Maple river between these points is a sluggish stream, having so slight a current as to resemble a succession of narrow lakes; while the alluvial shores, scarcely rising above the water, even when lowest, are covered with a dense forest of soft maple, giving to the whole stream, at first, rather a forbidding aspect. But in passing from this valley, which varies from half a mile to two or three miles in width, we come upon a beautifully elevated and undulating country, for the most part heavily timbered, and well adapted to the purposes of agriculture. The bottom of the stream is seen to be composed of a yellowish sand, as is also the alluvial deposits which bounds it on either side, with which are frequently seen boulders of primary rocks, but no rock was seen in place at any point upon the river.

In Clinton county,* and where, by a somewhat sudden turn, the river approaches near to the elevated boundary of the valley just described, saline indications of a decided character appear in the narrow marsh or alluvial bottom which bounds the river upon its northern side. Two marshes, scarcely elevat-

* Town eight north, range four west, section fifteen.

ed above the surface of the river, and partially separated from each other, occur in the lower, of which no distinct spring can be said to exist; but the water is seen at several points oozing through the sandy soil in connexion with the water of the river; and although no means could be devised for preventing the constant accession of fresh water and foreign matter, it will be seen by reference to spring 11, Tables No. 1 and 2, a much more favorable result was obtained than could under those circumstances have been anticipated. At the upper marsh, an excavation had been made to the depth of a few feet, but not sufficient to prevent the free ingress of fresh water. There was a constant discharge of water in small quantities perfectly transparent, and having a temperature of 46° , and, as was also the case with that at the lower marsh, having a slight odor of sulphuretted hydrogen. The result of an examination of the water, taken under these favorable circumstances, is given in Tables No. 1 and 2, spring No. 13.

Since my visit to that place, I am informed a shaft has been sunk through alternating beds of sand and coarse gravel, to a depth of about forty feet, and has been attended by a considerable increase of the saline contents of the water.*

As we continue to ascend the Maple River, indications of saline water occasionally appear until we arrive near the source of navigation of that stream in Gratiot county, some fifteen to twenty miles above those already described. Here two saline marshes occur, one upon each side of, and scarcely elevated above the water of the stream at its medium height. That upon the northern side was estimated to contain between forty and fifty acres. They are similar in appearance, consisting of a deposit of sand, intermixed with vegetable matter. Numerous small pools of brackish water are irregularly distributed over them, and the soil is apparently saturated through their whole extent of it; but as the looseness of the earthy material admits the free percolation of the water of the river, the results of the analysis given in Tables No. 1 and 2, springs 11 and 12, can only be looked upon as an approximation to the present strength and purity of the surface water. In a single instance, upon the southern side, and where the soil becomes slightly argillaceous, the water was seen rising to the surface, and running off in small quantities; but after minute examination, I was led to infer that a large amount of water, which would under other circumstances rise to the surface, is discharged laterally through the sand

* Since writing the above, I have received, through the politeness of Messrs. Parks and Warner, the proprietors of the spring, several bottles of the water taken since the shaft was sunk. One hundred cubic inches (three and a half wine pints, nearly) of the water subjected to the analysis, gave the following results:

Muriate of soda,	143.88 grains.
Muriate of lime,	4.30
Muriate of magnesia,	12.83
Carbonate of lime,	6.23
Carbonate of iron,	.09
Sulphate of lime,	13.47

Total solid matter, 180.80 grains.

By a comparison of this analysis with that numbered 13, in Table 1, it will be seen that there has been an increase of 92.42 grains of solid matter, and 77.05 grains of salt, in one hundred cubic inches of the water, in consequence of the shaft which has been sunk.

and gravel, into the river. These marshes are the favorite resort of wild animals ; and paths, deeply worn by deer, were seen in every direction.

On the Tittabawassa River in Midland County, numerous indications of the existence of brine springs were noticed, extending from near the mouth of Chipewewa River as far as I ascended the former stream, being a few miles above the mouth of Salt River. Upon either side of the Tittabawassa, between the points noted, small pools of brackish water were observed, as also, occasionally, springs discharging a similar water in small quantities ; and although an examination showed the waters to contain large quantities of the salts of lime, and occasionally of iron, they were never destitute of more or less salt.

Springs of a more decided character occur in the vicinity of the mouth of Salt river. The first observed occurs in the stream near the banks of the Tittabawassa, a little below Salt river, and at the time of my visit was covered by some two to two and a half feet of water. After much labor, by partly encircling the spring with two rows of stakes, and filling around with earth, I was enabled so far to exclude the fresh water as to make an imperfect examination ; but the loose nature of the material composing the bed of the stream, (it being sand and gravel,) together with the imperfect manner in which the crib surrounding the spring was constructed, did not prevent the constant accession of considerable quantities of fresh water ; for which reason the result of the examination given in Tables No. 1 and 2, spring No. 1, must be considered as nothing more than an approximation to the real quantity of solid matter the water would contain were it taken under more favorable circumstances.

The spring was found by actual admeasurement to discharge about seventy gallons of water per hour, free from all sedimentary matter, perfectly transparent, and to have a temperature of 47° , while the temperature of the river was 51° Fah. A small quantity of some gaseous matter was discharged at intervals of several minutes, which, although I had no means of determining to a certainty, was supposed to be carburetted hydrogen.

Nearly a mile above this spring, upon the same bank, and elevated from eight to ten feet above the water of the river, is a second spring, discharging a somewhat larger quantity of water. Its general appearance and temperature are precisely the same as in that already described ; but in strength it is inferior, as will be seen by reference to Table No. 1, spring No. 2.

Near by, but at a greater elevation, several small springs of brackish water were seen issuing from the sloping bank of the river, which, upon examination, were found to contain a notable quantity of salt.

At the distance of about three-fourths of a mile from the locality last mentioned, and some forty rods from Salt River, on its left bank, several brine springs, closely resembling those before described as occurring near the rapids of Grand River, are seen to issue from a marsh of about an acre in extent. The quantity of water discharged from these springs is small, but when considered in connexion with those already noticed, they become matters of considerable interest, since they serve to show that the salines are not confined to one or two springs, but are widely dispersed over a large district of country. By reference to spring No. 3, Tables 1 and 2, the strength and purity of one of the springs, occurring in this marsh, will be seen ; but since the marsh from which this water was taken, had been completely deluged by the rains that had fallen

the night before, perhaps no greater allowance should be made for any water that was analyzed, than for this.

Brine springs are known to exist near the mouths of the Flint and Cass Rivers in Saginaw county, as also in Sanillac county ; but as they occur in a flat section of country, the unfavorable season compelled me to defer examining them until some future time.

On the eastern declivity of the peninsula, in the counties of St. Clair, Macomb, Wayne, and the eastern part of Oakland, numerous indications of saline water occur ; but the waters are in most instances weak, and much contaminated with the salts of lime, magnesia, and iron. The only exceptions to this, (among those which have been examined,) will be seen by reference to springs numbered 16, 17, 18, and 19, in Tables 1 and 2.

The *quantity* of water discharged from the brine springs, (so far as examined,) is much greater upon the western and northern than upon the eastern declivity of the peninsula.

The solution of this difference may be looked for, chiefly, from the difference in dip of the rock strata ; but it is also, probably, dependant in part upon the earthy superstratum through which the waters reach the surface. Thus, while the springs enumerated as occurring upon the western and northern declivities rise to the surface through a sandy soil, those in the counties last mentioned chiefly find their way to the surface through beds of tough clay, with occasional interstratified beds of sand and gravel, though not unfrequently, for a slight depth, the soil may be sand and loam. A little reflection upon this subject will serve to show the manner in which the water, in rising to the surface, may follow the frequently inclined direction of these beds of sand and gravel, and appear at numerous points where least resistance will be offered to its ascent, and not unfrequently at some distance from the real source of the spring. This source of perplexity, which must necessarily at times lead to erroneous conclusions, would be less liable to occur were the earthy matter superimposed upon the rock of a homogeneous character so far as texture is concerned. For this reason, as also for the others connected with the position of the rock strata, the certainty of obtaining salt water by boring must be looked upon as less upon the eastern than upon the northern and western slopes of the peninsula.

From the earliest settlement of the country, brine springs have been known to exist in Macomb county, on Salt River, a small stream which is discharged into Lake St. Clair : and many years ago an attempt was made to manufacture salt from one of them. But although salt was manufactured in small quantities, the water did not prove of sufficient strength to render it a source of profit, in consequence of which the attempt was abandoned. When I visited the spot, an old gum or hollow sycamore, sunk to the depth of a few feet, near the edge of the stream, marked the spot from which the water was taken, and a few remaining bricks the site of the furnace.

No attempt appears to have been made to improve the water any farther than by simply excluding that from the stream. The gum was so far decayed as to permit a free communication with the water of the stream, and that near the surface in the gum was to the taste apparently free from saline matter ; but a bottle sunk to the bottom, about five feet, brought up the water which was the subject of the examination noted as spring No. 16, Tables 1 and 2. No esti-

mate could be formed of the quantity discharged, but it was inferred to be inconsiderable. The temperature of the water at the bottom of the gum was found to be 50°, while that of the stream was 66° Fah.

On the opposite side of the stream, and only a few rods from that last described, a very small quantity of saline water issued from a bed of clay. That numbered 17, Tables 1 and 2, was taken from this place. Numerous similar indications occur in the immediate vicinity.

South-west from the springs last noticed, and about twelve miles distant, indications of a very similar character appear on a small stream which discharges into the middle branch of Clinton River. Here, upon a bed of clay, and scarcely elevated above the small creek which passes through it, is a tremulous marsh, in which brackish water is seen at numerous points. A shaft has been sunk here, through strata of clay, sand, and gravel, to a depth of twenty-three feet; and from this the water which was the subject of the analysis, numbered 18, in Tables 1 and 2, was procured. The water rose in the curb surrounding the well about one foot above the level of the stream, and had a temperature of 50° Fah. The quantity of water discharged is small, and does not appear to have been materially improved by the slight excavation which has been made, except so far as the curb may serve to exclude the surface water.

About four miles north from that last noticed, and in a small marsh where there does not appear to have been any distinct spring, but simply brackish water upon the surface, a shaft has been sunk fifty feet through clay, sand, and gravel. The water which was subjected to the analysis, No. 19, Tables 1 and 2, was taken from this shaft. Although the water stood at an elevation of about one foot in the tube, there did not appear to be any discharge of water from it.

In the valley of Saline River in Washtenaw County, near the village of Saline, brine springs, closely resembling those already noticed in Macomb County, have long been known. They are seen issuing from a bed of silt, superimposed on clay, at the bottom of a somewhat deep valley, and giving rise to several small pools and marshes, as also appearing in one or two instances in the shape of springs, which discharge small quantities of water. That from which the analysis numbered 15, Tables 1 and 2, was taken, appears to be of the most importance.

In a communication from an intelligent gentleman of Saline on the subject of this spring, he says: "From the stories of Indians and reports of the old French inhabitants, both of Detroit and Monroe, we are assured, that at an early day salt was manufactured here in considerable quantities. And from the condition in which the spring was found when we first explored the country, we have good reason to place confidence in these reports.

"When I first visited this place, in 1823, the spring was about sixteen feet deep, firmly set round with pickets of logs, and the surrounding water excluded by an embankment. The spring is now filled up, the pickets destroyed, and the embankment trod down by the cattle, or washed away by the operation of the water."

Thus having described, perhaps somewhat more minutely than the subject under *ordinary* circumstances would have called for, the principal brine springs examined during the past season, it becomes a matter of primary importance to

inquire what practical conclusions can be drawn from these examinations. The question will naturally present itself under two somewhat distinct heads ; first, will the water, from either of the springs examined (by the simple exclusion of the surface water,) contain sufficient salt, and is it discharged in sufficient quantity to enable a profitable manufacture to be carried on? Secondly, can the water be improved in strength, purity, and quantity?

The first of these questions involves so few considerations as to admit of a ready and positive answer ; for, although the strongest of our brine contains nearly two-thirds as much salt as would be contained in an equal quantity of sea water, (taken at a distance from the coast,) and by a simple exclusion of the surface water, might, undoubtedly, be obtained of a strength fully equal, and of much greater purity, from our proximity to extensive manufactures where water of a superior quality is used, and with the facilities for transportation which now exist, we would be enabled to procure our salt from abroad at a cheaper rate than it could possibly be manufactured at home. And again, no spring, which was examined, discharges a sufficient quantity of water to warrant the erection of works ; although, in several instances, that objection might possibly be removed by a simple and very slight excavation.

In order to arrive at satisfactory conclusions upon the second question, it may not be misplaced to institute a comparison between those springs which occur on the peninsula, and those in other sections of the United States.

The springs of New-York, which are perhaps more universally and deservethy known than any others, and which have been to that State a source of so much wealth, are so differently situated that we can scarcely institute a satisfactory comparison between those and our own. Emanating as they do, from the direct outcropping edge of the rock, forming a great saliferous basin, their waters possess all the requisites of purity, strength, and quantity, without any other than superficial excavation. Thus, while the springs of New-York are discharged directly from the edge of the saliferous rock, those of our peninsula, *so far as examined*, rise to the surface through a superincumbent mass of limestone, sandstone, and shale.

The general resemblance between the geology of the valley of the Ohio and that of our own state has already been noticed ; but from facts which it is unnecessary to detail at this time, I am led to infer that the rock formations of our saliferous district are somewhat lower in the series than those occurring at the principal salines on the Ohio. If this inference be correctly drawn, it would follow that the salt-bearing rock would lie nearer the surface here than at the points mentioned in Ohio, and that the borings would not be required to be carried to so great a depth in our own as in that state.

In pursuing this subject, we may arrive at some general conclusions by a comparison of the *surface* waters subjected to analysis, and of which the results are given in Tables numbered 1 and 2, with that which was first used on the Kenhawa, and of which a general description has been given. It has already been stated that the making of salt was commenced on the Kenhawa when the borings had been carried *in the rock* to the depth of twenty-six feet, the gum occupying a space of fourteen feet of superincumbent sand and gravel, and that three hundred gallons were required to manufacture a bushel of salt.

If fifty-six pounds be taken as the standard weight of a bushel of salt,* it will be found, by calculation, that it will require of the water numbered 1, in Table 1, and which, it will be recollected, was taken under most unfavorable circumstances, three hundred and thirty-seven gallons nearly, to produce that quantity. Now, since this water was taken where the water of the river was from two to two and a half feet deep, and under such circumstances that the free access of large quantities of fresh water could not be prevented, I think it will be safe to say that the waters of this spring are quite equal to that first used on the Kenhawa, even after the excavation of forty feet, which had been made at the last-mentioned salines.

The importance of this comparison is much enhanced by the striking similarity of circumstances under which the salines of our own state and those of Ohio appear; but, aside from these comparisons, when the geological relations of those portions of our state in which these springs occur are considered, we cannot fail to look upon them as capable of being vastly improved, and as being subjects of vital importance to the state. It will be recollected, that at the spring mentioned on the Kenhawa, where originally three hundred gallons of the water were required for the manufacture of a bushel of salt, seventy gallons are now sufficient to produce that quantity. As on the Ohio and its tributaries, shafts are required to be sunk to unequal depths, and water of very unequal strength and purity is obtained, so in our own state we may look for great variation in this respect.

We can only hope to obtain a permanent supply of brine, of sufficient strength, from the springs of our state by sinking shafts through the rocky strata, until the salt-bearing rock be reached, be the distance more or less. If judiciously conducted, a reasonable doubt could scarcely be entertained but this would be attended with success, and that our springs might be made to produce a supply of salt more than sufficient for the wants of the state. But it must not be imagined that this will be unattended with difficulties; for, after the most minute examinations of our salt region have been made, and those points which offer the most reasonable prospects of success selected for the commencement of operations, no little skill, labor, and expense will be required to sink such shafts as may be of any permanent benefit. I allude to this subject the more particularly, since excavations are not unfrequently commenced by individuals without "counting cost," under the delusive expectation that a simple superficial excavation is all that is required. The result is a failure to attain the object sought, and a distrust of the whole matter. Since it is not yet known to what depths the boring will require to be carried at any of the points in the salt district, and the sinking of a shaft to any great depth being attended with considerable expense, individuals should enter upon these experiments, (for they must be looked upon in this light,) with extreme caution. When the depths to which shafts must be sunk are fully determined, the expense and probability of success may be calculated with considerable certainty; but it is not by any means to be presumed that water will be procured of equal strength and purity at all the points which have been enumerated, or that operations might be commenced at all those points with prospects of success.

* The legal weight of a bushel of salt in the state of New-York, by the act of 1797; but the measured bushel will considerably exceed this.

Comparatively little is yet known of the minute geology of our salt district, or even of its geographical extent; and since we may reasonably hope to find those portions, yet to be examined, rich in brine springs, the policy of immediately commencing the improvement of those which bid most fair to produce a strong brine in sufficient quantities, demands serious consideration. While it is of vital importance to the state that operations be commenced with the least possible delay, it is also desirable that the very best points should be first selected, and that the subject should be as perfectly understood as circumstances will permit; but should it be deemed advisable to take the steps preparatory to this improvement, I do not hesitate to give it as an opinion, drawn from a careful examination of the subject, that points may be selected where these operations may be conducted with the strongest prospects of eventual success.

Clay.

Marly clay, of rather a coarse character, is distributed quite universally through the different counties of the state. These deposits of clay are frequently associated with pebbles of lime, which render them unfit for the manufacture of bricks; but since these pebbles in many instances assume a stratified and alternating position, the clay may, with a little care, be obtained nearly or quite free from them.

In Washtenaw county, near Ann Arbor, a bed has been opened, and the clay used in the manufacture of earthen ware with very good success.

Near the middle branch of the Clinton river, in Macomb county, a bed of clay occurs, of superior quality, both in fineness of texture and freedom from calcareous matter, and is better fitted for the manufacture of pottery than any I have seen in our state.*

Sand.

Nearly the whole western coast of the peninsula, immediately upon Lake Michigan, is bordered by a succession of sand dunes, or hills of loose sand, not unfrequently attaining a considerable altitude. These hills are in many places free from all vegetation, while in others they are covered by a growth of dwarf pines and cedar; and, more rarely, by other timber. When free from vegetation, the hills are constantly undergoing change from the action of the winds, the sand gradually encroaching upon the land. The moveable sands, which are now unnoticed, may hereafter become matters of serious inconvenience, more particularly in those portions where the timber may be heedlessly removed. These dunes are not unfrequently composed of sand tolerably well adapted to the manufacture of glass, though its value is unfrequently much impaired by the presence of particles of dark-colored minerals.

Five to six miles north-west of Monroe, the disintegration of a siliceous lime-rock has given rise to a bed of sand of a very superior quality, and of considerable extent. The sand is of a snowy whiteness, formed of exceedingly small and angular grains, and is nearly pure quartz. These qualities render it better adapted to the manufacture of glass than any other that has been seen in the state.

* My attention was called to this by Isaac W. Averill, Esq. who exposed the bed while conducting operations with a view of improving the salt springs of Macomb county.

Marl.

Our state abounds in deposits of marl, composed of recent shells, and in some few instances it has been used in the manufacture of lime. Inexhaustible beds exist in the northern part of St. Joseph and the adjoining counties, and, as a manure, will prove invaluable to the agricultural interests of those portions of our state. Several extensive beds were seen in Jackson county, as also in Monroe county, near the city of Monroe.

The great value of these beds of marl to the agricultural interests of our state is by no means appreciated, and its value as a manure appears to be but little understood by those to whom the information is of the utmost practical importance. My mind was called more emphatically to this subject from having seen, in the early part of the season, one of our farmers making use of plaster (transported from a distance and at a great expense,) upon the sandy portions of his lands, while the marl, in his immediate neighborhood, and which would have answered his purpose nearly equally well, was wholly neglected.

Bog Iron ore.

Deposites of bog iron ore were seen at numerous points on the peninsula, but it exists in so small quantities at most of the places examined as to be of little value.

Near the village of Kalamazoo, a somewhat extensive bed of this ore was seen, which, it is conceived, may prove of some practical importance. It was cursorily examined over an extent of perhaps forty to fifty acres, and was found to vary from a few inches to three or four feet in thickness. Three specimens of the ore subjected to analysis gave the following mean result for one hundred grains

Peroxid of iron,	78,45 grains.
Silica and alumina,	7,95 "
Carbonate of lime,	1,10 "
Water,	12,50 "
	<hr/>
	100,00 grains.

At a distance of six or seven miles north-west from Detroit, and in the county of Wayne, bog ore occurs at intervals, over an extent of several hundred acres, but I have not been able to examine it with sufficient care to determine its extent; I think, however, there can be little doubt but it exists in sufficient quantities to be turned to practical account.

Near the mouth of Grand river, in Ottawa county, is a somewhat limited bed of bog ore, but the specimens subjected to examination were found to contain too many impurities to be of much if any value.

Mineral Springs.

Several springs, charged with sulphuretted hydrogen, occur near Monroe, in Monroe county, and the waters being also charged with carbonate of lime, give rise to considerably elevated mounds of calcareous tufa, and from which the water is usually discharged in a constant stream. A spring of much larger size occurs in a marsh near the town of Havre in that county. This latter spring, which has a circumference of a hundred and fifty feet and a depth of thirty-five feet, discharges a sufficient quantity of water, were it favorably situated,

to turn a mill. The quantity of sulphuretted hydrogen contained by this spring, as also those near the city of Monroe, though not great, is sufficient to characterize them, and to render them of considerable value in the treatment, more particularly, of cutaneous diseases.

The departments of Botany and Zoology, under the more immediate direction of Dr. Abraham Sager, principal assistant, have received due attention.

Extensive collections of plants have been made, and the preparatory steps taken towards arranging a Flora of the state.

The season was considerably advanced before we were enabled to turn our attention to the zoology of the state, yet several hundred specimens, mostly in the departments of Ornithology and Herpetology, have been collected, and will furnish aid in studying these departments of natural history.

Topographical maps of the several counties of the state, reduced from the original United States surveys, are in as rapid progress as circumstances will permit, and we hope during the progress of the geological survey to be enabled to render them minutely accurate.

In order to place our state university in such a condition that it may hold a rank among the institutions of our country, it is very important that the parent institution, as well as its branches, be amply supplied with a collection of all that appertains to the natural history of our own state *at least*. This may be accomplished during the continuance of the geological survey which is in progress, but not without much labor and expense. Since the making these collections would so far cripple our operations in the other departments, in consequence of the inadequacy of the appropriation, it remains to be decided whether these departments, which are being carried forward with so much zeal by the states around us, shall be continued as commenced, or shall be abandoned to a bare catalogue.

In conclusion it may not be misplaced to allude to the numerous difficulties to which we are subjected in carrying forward the investigations before us. Our state is in its infancy; and although it is rapidly populating with an intelligent and industrious people, they are at present, (with the exception of those in a very few of the counties,) thinly spread over a large district of country. The numerous difficulties and privations by which they are surrounded have prevented much attention even to the general character of the country around them. For this reason, the amount of local information, which can be obtained, is small, and exceedingly liable to error. We have on the peninsula no mountain chains, no lofty mural walls or deep valleys, where the actual superposition of the rocks can be seen at a glance; our quarries of stone have scarcely been opened, all which subject us to many difficulties. In addition to all this, those portions to which the immediate interests of the state call our attention, have no avenues by which they can be reached, excepting by the streams or the trails of the Indians. The ascent of a rapid stream by canoe, the only feasible mode of travelling, and the only manner by which examinations can be satisfactorily conducted, is attended by fatigue, labor, and hardships of the most severe kind. Wading the streams by day, and annoyed by mosquitoes at night, separated for weeks together from all society, were it not that the mind is constantly occupied in the contemplation of objects which, from their symmetry and beauty,

furnish a constant mental feast, there would be nothing which could possibly compensate for the hardships endured.

NOTE XI.

PRINCIPAL RIVERS.

KALAMAZOO AND GRAND RIVER.

(*J. Almy's Report of the Survey of the Kalamazoo and Grand River.*)

To the Hon. JUSTICE BURDICK,

President of the Board of Internal Improvement :

Sir: In obedience to my instructions, and in pursuance of the act of the legislature, authorizing the surveys of certain rivers, I have made an examination and survey of the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers, which were committed to my charge.

In performing the responsible duties appertaining to this service, I have endeavored to adopt such a system of examination as would best enable me to lay before your honorable board the information sought for, or contemplated by the act making appropriations for this object.

Such of the rivers as have been designated as objects of attention, so much so as to be embraced in the general system of internal improvement, have, no doubt, merited this distinction from the well-known fact of their having already afforded unusual facilities for transportation ; and upon the principle that the rights and interests of the citizens of the state should be equally cherished and protected. It is believed to be the duty of the government to extend the operations of internal improvement as far as a just regard for the interests of all, and the capabilities of the treasury, will permit, to the navigable rivers and waters within our state.

Every day brings with it additional proof of their intrinsic value to the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of the state.

But a few years have elapsed since the birch canoe of the Indian and the batteau of the trader were the only craft to be seen upon their placid waters ; now the imposing spectacle of a " steamboat " arrests the attention of the retiring son of the forest, teeming with emigrants and implements of husbandry, ready to deface the last print of his foot in that soil once so dear to him and to his nation.

Some facts may be stated in regard to what facilities are now offered by these rivers for navigation and transportation, and such a statement would seem to be necessary for the purpose of enabling those unacquainted with the circumstances to arrive at a just conclusion as to the propriety of making appropriations for improvements.

I would here remark, that most of the rivers flowing out of this peninsula have a greater distance from their mouths than any other streams of equal volume of water within my observation or knowledge : this is accounted for from the fact that they have a very uniform descent, and the fall not so great in a given distance as to produce a very rapid flow of the element ; and in many instances it only requires a reasonable amount of labor and money to be expended, in order to render these natural channels available for all the purposes of navigation.

But to return to the notice of certain facts, as connected with the navigation of the Kalamazoo and Grand rivers. I would call the attention of the board to that which must produce an impression favorable as regards their improvement.

A brief statement of the number of boats of various descriptions, which have been employed on the Grand river the past season in the business of transportation, will, I trust furnish some data for an estimation of the value and convenience of this medium of communication.

Individual enterprise and private capital is not often appropriated to any object in the way of business without reference to a profitable investment. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable, especially when we take into consideration the fact, that measures are taking to increase the number of craft to be used for transportation, that no more capital has been invested than was profitable and absolutely required.

During the season of 1836, such of the boats as were employed on Grand river were generally of the tonnage and construction of those used in the New-York canals. There were four of this description of craft in constant use between the mouth of the river and Grand Rapids. These, together with a class of open boats, carrying from ten to fifteen tons, were found insufficient to do the required business, in consequence whereof a large amount of goods and provisions destined for the Rapids and the country above lay in the store-house at Grand Haven the preceding winter.

A steamboat, respectable both as to size and accommodation, built and owned by Messrs. Godfroy & Co. at the village of Grand Rapids, was launched from their wharf on or about the first of July past.

This boat draws, when light, about three and a half feet of water, and has, to the close of navigation, performed her regular trips between the mouth of the river and Grand Rapids daily. She has in the mean time made several trips to the different ports on Lake Michigan, among which may be mentioned the mouth of the Kalamazoo, North Black, river and Muskegon; and it is admitted by her enterprizing owners that their most sanguine expectations have been realized as to her performance and profits.

The ensuing season will open with an addition of two more boats of the same class, one of which is designed to run from Grand Haven to the foot of the rapids, the other from the basin of the Kent Company's canal to the village of Lyons, in the county of Ionia.

It may be also proper at this time to advert to another fact, by way of showing what benefits and advantages are derived from this water communication, and which are now available to those engaged in making lumber, the greater portion of which is consumed in a foreign market.

At the rapids of Grand river, and within the circle of eight miles around the same, there are in operation no less than eight saw-mills, and several of this number are double mills. Three millions of feet would be a low estimate as the average amount of lumber cut by these mills during the season of their operation.

No comments are necessary when it is understood that every foot of this lumber can be delivered at the foot of Grand Haven in forty-eight hours after the same has been put into rafts.

The Kalamazoo is now navigated by the largest class of what are termed Durham boats, from its mouth to the village of Allegan, a distance, by the river, of thirty-eight miles ; at certain stages of the water this operation is extended to the village of Kalamazoo, a distance from the mouth of the river of seventy-five miles.

Had measures been taken to obtain from authentic sources the amount of transportation and business on this stream the last season, I make no doubt but that the result would have abundantly proved its value and importance to the population of the interior, as a convenient avenue to the trade and commerce of the lake.

What has been remarked in relation to lumbering operations on the Grand river, will apply with peculiar force to the Kalamazoo ; at no single period within the limits of this state, to my knowledge, has the business of manufacturing lumber been so exclusive an object of attention as at the village of Allegan ; I speak unadvisably, but nevertheless I will hazard the assertion that the mills at this place have cut the last season more than four millions of feet, a great proportion of which has been floated down this river to Lake Michigan, to be there shipped for market.

These facts are here introduced merely for the purpose of showing, that in the event of there being a disposition on the part of the legislature to appropriate money for the improvement of these rivers, that some evidence may be at hand by way of showing that the present business operations on the same will justify such an amount of appropriations as will be sufficient to remove some of the obstacles which have heretofore embarrassed the business of navigation.

In making the examinations upon which the following estimates have been predicated, reference has been had to a system, which I have confidence to believe was the only proper one to be adopted under existing circumstances. It must appear evident from a single glance at the nature of the case, that that which demands the first attention, and which involved the question of the practicability of improving the navigation of these streams, independent from slack water operations, was an examination by soundings of the depth of water, and acquiring full information and knowledge as to the nature of the impediment that now exists, and necessary to be abated.

Having, therefore, decided upon the manner and mode of acquiring these facts, it became necessary to have reference to the waters in these rivers respectively, before any labor could with propriety or profit be bestowed towards the attainment of the object ; as it was important that soundings and other examinations connected with this operation, should be made at a time when the rivers were at their low water mark, lest false and delusive results might be the consequence.

I therefore was deterred from making the said surveys until some of the last days of July, when by observation I found that these streams were down to their minimum stage.

On the 27th of July last I entered upon the duties appertaining to this investigation. Beginning at the mouth of the Kalamazoo, provided with the necessary instruments and assistance to enable me to prosecute the survey with economy and despatch ; having in view,

First, to determine how far this river was susceptible of being made navigable by merely removing the existing obstacles and impediments.

Second, to devote as much time to the examination of the character, position, and nature of such impediments, as would enable me to form a just estimate of the expense of their abatement and removal.

I shall proceed now to give the results of these examinations, by dividing the river from its mouth to the village of Allegan, a distance of thirty-eight miles, into three divisions or sections, embracing the following distances, viz: from the mouth to the village of Richmond, a distance of twelve miles; from Richmond to where the river crosses the north line of township 2 north, range 14 west, a distance of ten miles; and from the last place to the village of Allegan, a distance of sixteen miles.

The soundings on the first division of twelve miles indicate an average depth of water for the distance of eight miles, of twelve feet; and the last four, of five and a-half; the channel of the stream maintains an average width of about two hundred feet, with a current flowing at the rate of one and a half miles per hour. The only obstructions noticed were in the last four miles, consisting of trees which had fallen from the banks, with their tops projecting into the channel of the river, forming serious obstacles to navigation, besides producing, in many instances, a change of channel, and deposits of alluvial in the eddies behind them.

We have now arrived to a point in this river where it becomes necessary to have reference to other modes of improving than removing flood wood, logs, and sand bars. The examination now must have reference to the practicability of improving the same by what is termed slack water.

The Kalamazoo has a average fall of about three feet per mile from the village of Kalamazoo to Allegan; and consequently may be considered a rapid stream. At low water it presents a continual series of ponds and rapids; the greatest fall in any given distance, and which is now used as a water power, is at Otsego.

In reviewing the result of my labors on this part of the river, I find myself involved in much doubt as to what should be the proper report on this subject.

The embankments, however, do not arise from any peculiar difficulty in determining as to the construction of the necessary works, either in the nature of dams or locks, but from the danger of inundating much of the valuable bottom lands on both margins of this river.

In projecting a series of improvements and structures, such as become necessary in order to accomplish the object in this case, must, I apprehend, call into requisition the best judgment and skill, combined with practical knowledge.

Those who have had an opportunity of witnessing the effect of damming heavy streams, will readily conceive the difficulties connected with this species of engineering. In every case where an obstruction is placed in a stream for the purpose of raising its waters above its customary level, as a necessary consequence, the pond sets back beyond its natural level, and this takes place in a less or greater degree in proportion to the volume of water flowing in the stream.

It is therefore plain, that in order to attain the desired object, as in this case, it is not necessary that the aggregate altitude of all the dams should equal the total amount of fall in the stream ; and in order to arrive at correct conclusions as to what proportion the height of all the dams should bear to the whole fall, questions of the most subtle and embarrassing nature present themselves for solution, involving hydrostatic principles, and the laws regulating the gravitation and flow of fluids.

The attention I have given to the investigation of this subject has enabled me to arrive at the following conclusions, viz :

That it will require twenty-one dams, located with reference to the different rapids, having in the whole an aggregate height of seventy-five feet, in connexion with suitable locks, in order to approximate anywhere near to the desired object and not injure the bottom lands on the river.

By this arrangement, no dam would have a higher elevation than four feet. In one or two cases side cuts may be necessary, made by way of abridging the distance.

GRAND RIVER.

Before entering into the details and estimates appertaining to Grand river, it may not be amiss to advert to some things not before noticed in my general and preliminary remarks.

The mouth of Grand river is the only natural harbor on Lake Michigan. It is accessible at all times during the season of navigation, and has, in a multitude of instances, afforded a safe retreat, and protection to life and property, from the tremendous storms on the lake.

The mouths of all other rivers and harbors on this lake are more or less obstructed by deposits of sand, and in some cases, after a severe storm, their entrances are nearly closed by a deposit of this kind.

Hence the harbor at the mouth of Grand river has become of utmost consequence to the commerce of our lakes, as a safe and convenient retreat from storms and danger. The value of this river, as a natural avenue of communication to the interior of the state, can only be appreciated but by keeping constantly in mind the facts before adduced, of its present use and importance as a medium of transportation. It must, I apprehend, if these things are kept in view, strike even those the most indifferent to the subject of internal improvement, as correct and sound policy to extend the fostering hand of government to the improvement of this river by adequate appropriations.

This river has been examined from its mouth to the village of Lyons, in Ionia county, a distance, by the stream, of ninety miles. But before I proceed to notice the several obstructions and impediments, it may be proper to observe something in relation to its general features.

I found by repeated observations that this stream from its mouth to the foot of the rapids, a distance of forty miles, has an average width of eight hundred feet ; and, in fact, at the rapids it exceeds a thousand, and from the head of the rapids to the mouth of the Maple at Lyons, its average width is 500 feet.

In this distance it receives several large tributaries, to wit : Flat river, Thornapple, and the Rouge ; its bends and curves are large and easy, and its general course nearly west, with the exception of the great bend between the mouth

of the Thornapple and the rapids. The fall in the river from Lyons to the head of the rapids is 31 feet ; from head of rapids to foot, 15 feet ; and from foot of rapids to mouth, 10 feet ; making a total of 56 feet in the distance of 90 miles.

I would take this opportunity again to remark, that the examinations and soundings have been made at times when the water in the river was at its lowest mark. Under such circumstances there is less danger of presenting things in a more favorable light than what would be warranted by a strict and scrutinizing investigation.

For twenty miles from the mouth of the river up, the soundings indicate a depth of water of not less than eight feet ; and the residue of the distance to the foot of the rapids, variable depths of 8 to 4 feet, and but two places only less than four ; one of these is a deposit of alluvion at the mouth of a stream ; the other a narrow bar, of coarse gravel and stone.

I presume there is not to be found a stream, in any State of the Union, not immediately connected with tide waters, so free from flood wood, sunken timber, rocks, and other obstructions for the same distance, as the Grand river in its present unimproved condition.

The first twenty miles I found nothing upon which to found an estimate ; and for the remaining distance of twenty miles, terminating at the foot of the rapids, the estimates are made for removing two bars, sundry loose rocks and sunken logs, together with deepening the south channel in front of the store-houses at the village of the Grand Rapids, to the termination of the Kent Company's canal.

The rapids at this place are caused by a stratum of lime rock, which shows itself in the bed of the river and in both banks, for a distance of a mile and a half. Its inclination is remarkably uniform ; causing the water of the river to descend with a velocity due to a fifteen feet fall, without noise or commotion. Certain owners and proprietors of the property on the east side of the rapids, commonly known as the Kent Company, have, at a great expense, cut a canal from the head of the rapids to within a hundred yards of the present steam-boat landing. This canal is 80 feet wide, and has a depth of four and a half feet, being abundantly capacious for the passage of the largest boats that will ever be found useful or convenient for river navigation.

Could the state enter into any arrangement with this company, for the use of their works upon equitable terms, it would be by far the least expensive plan for passing these rapids ; and I have not the least doubt but that such an arrangement could be made to the satisfaction of both parties.

I shall now proceed to make a summary statement of the obstacles noticed in my examination from the head of the rapids to Lyons, describing the nature of the obstructions and place of location, as follows :

From the head of the rapids to section 27, town 7 north, range 10 west, a short distance below the mouth of the Thornapple, being a distance of about 18 miles, the water is of good depth : but at the foot of a small island opposite said section 27, there is a gravel bar eighty rods long, at point opposite section 8, in town 6 north, range 9 west ; then snags and sunken logs ; opposite sections 4 and 5, town 6 north, range 8 west, flood and sunken ; at section 10, town 6 north, range 8 west, a gravelly bar, and large stones, 40 in length ; opposite section six, town 6 north, range 7 west, snags and flood-wood ; at a bend oppo-

site section 31, town 7 north, range 7 west, flood wood, and snags; at bend opposite section 19, town 7 north, range 6 west, snags and flood.

At and below the mouth of Prairie creek, a gravelly and stony bar, 80 rods long; from thence to the mouth of the Maple, all clear,

ST. JOSEPH RIVER.

(Charles F. Smith's Report of the Survey of the St. Joseph river.)

To the Honorable, the Commissioners of Internal Improvement of the State of Michigan.

GENTLEMEN—Having received instructions from you to make a strict and careful examination of the St. Joseph river, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability and cost of improving its navigation, including directions to notice its rise, depth, width, islands, and character of its bed and banks, particularly where any obstructions exist and improvements might be made, with the difficulties to be overcome, the means of doing it, and the effect of the improvement on the adjoining country; together with the size, navigability, and hydraulic power of its tributaries, comprising in my observations every thing necessary to describe and make a complete map of the river. By the assistance of Mr. J. R. Grout I have completed the survey, and am now enabled to present you the following report:

The river is now navigable, in ordinary water, for small steamboats as far as Niles, and for keelboats, propelled by poles, as far as Three Rivers: but at certain seasons of the year the navigation is attended with much difficulty, owing to numerous bars and the velocity of water; the former of which is attributed to several causes. The most prominent are, a variation in the volume of water, direction and action of the current, unequal hardness of the soil, and the matter with which the stream is often charged. The rise of the water increases the velocity and action of the current, in consequence of which, from those parts of the stream where the earth is not of sufficient hardness to resist this action, it is torn up and transported to other parts, where the force of the current is less, and being there deposited, forms bars; and in many cases a second channel is made, which, by a division of the water into two courses, renders the depth of it too little in either. The difference between the high and low water mark varies from four to six feet, according to the width of the stream. The action of the current, even in low water, is in many places too great for the tenacity of the soil. To diminish, therefore, the current where it is necessary, and to render the water of sufficient depth for the purposes of navigation, appears to be the principal object for consideration in the improvements of the stream. For effecting them, is recommended a system of damming, locking, and occasionally excavating where economy renders it advisable. In making the examination, I have had in view the full improvement of the river. The survey was commenced by taking as a plane of reference the surface of the water at Messrs. Porter & Co's warehouse in the village of St. Joseph. The river at this place is nine hundred feet in width, and of ample depth for the largest vessels that navigate the lakes. At its mouth it is narrower and of less depth; but by the judicious location of the pier which is now constructing, the bar, which former-

ly obstructed the mouth of the river, rendering its entrance difficult and often dangerous, has in a great measure washed away, opening a direct and safe communication with the lake, which promises, when the pier is completed, to render this a safe and commodious harbor. On the north side of the river, opposite St. Joseph, is an extensive marsh, through which flows the Paw Paw, and enters the St. Joseph just below the bridge. This stream at its mouth is one hundred and fifteen feet wide and six feet deep. The current for several miles is slow; the adjacent land, in high water, liable to be overflowed. Keelboats occasionally ascend it as far as Waterford, about thirty miles; but owing to its circuitous route and want of depth at certain points, it is not much used for the purposes of navigation. Above the commencement of quick water, hydraulic power to a considerable extent can be obtained, and there are now upon it three mills in constant operation.

On the south side of the St. Joseph, commencing just above the village, a marsh puts out from the bluff, around which the river makes a large bend. This marsh extends a distance of three-fourths of a mile, to the orchard farm, opposite which are two islands. The main stream flows between them. Its bed is sand, and the water in the shoalest part is six feet. Should this depth diminish, to the injury of the navigation, by the widening of the other channels, they may be closed at a small expense. Half a mile above this is the mouth of Pine creek, which comes in from the south. It is fifty feet wide and four deep, and for some distance is sluggish. The quantity of its water is variable. There is a saw mill about six miles from its mouth, and valuable mill sites at other points.

Just below the village of Royalton, three miles from St. Joseph, is a large island, occupying the middle of the stream. The right channel is shoal near the head of it, being but five feet in depth. Its bed is a fine compact sand, which the ordinary current does not move. The left channel at the foot of the island has but four and a half feet of water. Its bed is a coarse loose gravel, and in consequence of the action of the water upon its banks, is gradually widening. At present it is unnecessary to improve this place; but should the left channel continue widening, owing to the direction of the current, it may be advisable to close the other. Yellow creek enters from the south, two and three-fourths miles above Royalton. Its width is twelve, and depth four feet. It discharges a considerable quantity of water, but as its fall has not been ascertained, the extent of its water power is unknown. Until we arrive at the Oxbow, the state of the river requires but a single remark: opposite Valparaiso it is broad, and the current too strong for the permanency of its banks, but at present the depth of water is sufficient.

Pipestone creek enters the St. Joseph seven miles from its mouth. It is one hundred feet wide and two and a half deep. The current is rapid, and three-fourths of a mile from its junction with the St. Joseph there is a saw-mill with ten feet fall, and above it are several valuable mill sites, but unimproved. From St. Joseph to Niles, the river varies in width from three to four hundred feet; and the valley from one fourth to three fourths of a mile wide, through which it runs with a winding course, sometimes crossing it obliquely, at others nearly at right angles, and occasionally, after making a large sweep, returning to the point which it had just passed. The Oxbow is an instance of this kind. Here,

after making a circuit of a mile and one-fourth, it returns to within two hundred and sixty feet where the current, by the direction of the stream, is deflected against the upper and lower banks, which it is fast wearing away, and will undoubtedly soon force a passage through. The channel on the upper side is much obstructed by the trees that have been undermined and fallen into it. By a cut across this place, the distance will be much shortened. These considerations, together with the necessity of slackening the current above, renders it advisable to construct here a dam of two and a half feet in height. From this point to Little Russia, four and a half miles, the distance to which the influence of the dam will extend, there are no obstructions, except a few snags, which can be easily removed. The banks that are now in several places wearing away, would, by diminishing the current, be protected; a remark that is alike applicable to similar places on the river.

At Little Russia, a dam of three feet, which is the most that can be given without overflowing the land, will be required; and another at the bend below the Devil's Elbow, opposite Mr. Barns' farm, of three and a half feet. Between these dams two small creeks discharge themselves. Kimmel's from the south, affords water for a saw-mill, and Walling's from the north, is a permanent stream, affording sufficient power for ordinary milling purposes. The dam at the Devil's Elbow will overcome the difficulties of the remainder of the river to Berrien, 22½ miles from St. Joseph. At the Devil's Elbow the stream is broad, and shallow, and so rapid as to render it extremely difficult in ascending it. The bed and banks at these different points are favorable to the construction and permanency of dams, and materials for them may be had with facility in the immediate vicinity. At Berrien are two islands. By clearing the south branch, the navigation will be made good past them. A short distance above them, a dam of three feet is required. At the foot of Shoemaker's island, Spring brook comes in from the north. There are two saw-mills upon it, which may be kept in operation during the year. Three miles further up, another dam of four feet is necessary. The water by this dam will be slackened to O. Sneyder's, a distance of 2½ miles, where a dam of five feet may be built, rendering the navigation good to Moccasin shoals. Between Berrien and this place are numerous small springs and rivulets of excellent water, and though not of sufficient size for milling purposes, yet of great value to the agriculturist. Lyback's falling branch, however, which comes in from the south, half a mile above Bartlett's island, is a stream of considerable value. It has a fall within three hundred feet of its mouth, of fifteen feet, and is capable of driving two run of stone. The Moccasin shoals, together with the ripple, embrace a distance of about two miles. The stream is broad, shoal, and much broken by islands, the largest of which are the Needle and Moccasin. A dam of five feet, to overcome these difficulties, will be required at the elbow below the shoals. Materials for this, as well as for the last three, are to be had on the spot. Two and three-fourth miles above the Moccasin ripple, the river is a deep, navigable stream. Opposite the village of Benton is McCoy's creek, an important stream, twelve feet wide and two deep, and having on it three saw-mills of 8, 10, and 15 feet head. It is about seven miles in length, and takes its rise in a large marsh. Two miles above this creek, a dam of 3½ feet will

slacken the water to Wesaw village, and at this point a dam of five feet will correct the state of the stream to Niles, forty-one miles from St. Joseph.

The Dowagiac, which enters from the north half a mile below Niles, is an important stream. The width at its mouth is 75 feet, and depth $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. There is a flouring and saw-mill at this place, and also half a mile above it, and other valuable sites still higher up. The water privilege at its mouth is owned by a company, who contemplate taking the whole stream to the brow of the bluff just below Niles. This operation, the expense of which will be moderate, will command a fall of twelve feet, creating a power sufficient to propel eight or ten run of stones.

At Niles the navigation is greatly interrupted by the ripple below the bridge and the island above it. The dam required will be four feet, and placed at some point between Beeson's warehouse and the bridge. The next dam of three feet, at Grandad ripple, two miles above Niles, will effect the object as far as the village of Bertrand; here a dam may be built, either above or below the bridge. The former place would be preferable, because it will there admit of a greater height, being five feet. This is the last dam required on this part of the river in the state of Michigan. The distance from the mouth of the stream to the Indiana line is $48\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The whole rise is $68\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The number of dams 12. The amount of rise they overcome, $46\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Spring brook coming in from the right at the village of Bertrand, is half a mile in length, and discharges water sufficient to run a saw-mill the greater part of the year; and one-fourth of a mile above, on the same side, is a small brook, affording water sufficient for some light machinery, as a carding machine. Three-fourths of a mile above the village, Pokagon creek enters from the left. It is about three miles in length, and the fall at its mouth is such as admits of the most advantageous application of its water as a power, which is probably sufficient to drive two run of stones constantly.

The bluffs, through the portion of the river described, vary from thirty to sixty feet in height. From Mr. Grant's observations, they are found to be composed of several different strata. The most extensive and prevailing being sand, marl, indurated or earthy, and clay. The latter, though sometimes occupying a middle position, is generally the lowest. In some places it is nearly pure; but in the greater number of instances, contains such a portion of gravel as renders it a very hard earth. The natural bed of the stream is composed of it. Aware of the great value of stone in a quarter where it is so scarce, a careful examination has been made of the places near the river where there are indications of it. Boulders are occasionally seen in almost every bluff, but the first appearance of stone in any quantity is in the bluff on C. Farley's land, opposite the extreme of the Oxbow. By an examination, it proves to be sand and gravel united by a calcareous cement. It has not sufficient strength and durability for building-stone, but is suitable for dam or crib work. Five miles further up, on the land of Messrs. Porter & Co., and at the place fixed upon for the second dam, is a species of lime rock called calcareous tuffa. It differs from the others, in containing a much greater quantity of lime, the solid carbonate often prevailing for several inches. Stone of both the kinds just mentioned, is to be found in the bluffs at several places below Niles, and frequently boulders in the bed of the stream, particularly at the ripples above Niles. That part of the

river above Niles, and extending through Indiana, differs in many respects from the portion already described. Its valley is narrower, being often no wider than the stream itself, and its banks higher. The prevailing earth which forms its bed, though clay and gravel are common in many places, is a loose sand and gravel. The rise of the water is more rapid and less uniformly distributed, causing ripples that are not easily surmounted. The peculiar condition of the stream at the ripples is evidently caused by the power of the current. The whole distance in Indiana is 43 miles. The whole rise 99 feet, being at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet per mile: a rate sufficient to communicate a velocity to water that will wear away even hard earth, and which moves with great ease that of which the bed of this part of the St. Joseph is composed. Hence the origin of that state of the stream of which we are speaking. Intelligent individuals inform me they have known the strongest ripples, as that of Mr. McCartney's, and that above Elkhart, formed in a single winter: the passage of the ice being obstructed, a dam is formed, and the water, as it forces its way beneath, carries with it the earth, the heavier parts of which are deposited immediately below; and here the natural section of the stream being diminished, the banks are gradually worn away till that is restored. The bed of the stream appears not to have the requisite permanency for dams, either on, or immediately above the ripples. It is therefore advisable in its improvement to avoid these places, and select for the dams such places as have a permanent bed, high banks, a medium width, depth, and current, and which are favorably adapted to hydraulic purposes.

The whole rise to be overcome by dams in Indiana is $54\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The whole number of these is twelve. That at Bertand, the last in Michigan, will improve the river to the head of Huiler's ripple, a distance of two and a half miles beyond the state line. At this place a small stream, called Huiler's Branch, comes in from the north. It has a flouring and saw-mill on it, and water sufficient the greater part of the year. The first dam in Indiana will be required at the head of the island, half a mile above this creek, of five feet in height. It will overcome the swift water at this place, at Portage, and at McCartney's ripple: the latter of which is one of the broadest and most rapid places on the river. At its head is the little Kankakee, which takes its rise in a large marsh of the same name. The want of water power along this part of the river renders this a very valuable stream. The quantity of water it discharges, which is sufficient for two run of stones, varies but little at any time of the year. The second dam of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height, placed at the bend below Stump ripple, will improve the stream at that and other points above, as far as the South Bend ripple. A dam at this place is in contemplation by a Company. They have nearly completed a canal across the point, commencing at the head of the ripple, and another season design to construct a dam of eight feet in height. This is more than is necessary for the improvement of the stream. One of six feet, and another of $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet, two and a half miles above, will slacken the water sufficiently to Mishawakee. The location of the latter is between Twin ripple and the large island below it. This ripple, and that of H. Combs, just above it, are at present difficult points of the stream. At Mishawaka, the experiment of damming the St. Joseph has been fully tried. That of the St. Joseph Iron Company, which is completed, promises to be a very permanent work. The difficulties which

it is known were encountered in this instance, were chiefly owing to the injudicious location of the dam, and the plan pursued in its construction. Its height is five feet, and the back water caused by it extends to Twin islands. The stream at this point is broad, shoal, and divided into three channels by the islands. To improve it, it is advisable to add a foot to the Mishawakee dam, and excavate one of the channels. The fifth dam, of four feet, half a mile above these islands, will slacken the water to Baw Baw ripple. Within this distance are four small ripples, at all of which the stream will be rendered of sufficient depth, except the last, where a slight excavation will be required. The stream at the Baw Baw has already attracted the attention of individuals, as being a favorable site for an extensive water power. They propose damming the river below the mouth of the creek, and cutting a canal across the point formed by the bend. Probably a more judicious plan for improving the river cannot be proposed. By excavating the right channel at the head of the island below Cobert's creek, the height of this dam need be but $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The Baw Baw comes in from the south just above it. It is a rapid stream, and very variable, often swelling after a rain to double its ordinary magnitude. At all seasons, however, it affords sufficient water, properly applied, for a grist and saw-mill; and of the latter there are several upon it. Cobert's creek, which enters from the north, two and a half miles above the Baw Baw, is a quick but uniform stream, being but slightly affected by rain. It is second only to the Dowagiac in respect to its water power. There are two saw-mills upon it, at parts above and at its mouth; a foundry, and extensive milling works are in contemplation. No dam is necessary above the Baw Baw, until we arrive at the foot of the island below Penwell's ripple, a distance of five miles. The stream makes several large bends, but is sufficiently deep, except at three or four places, where, by wearing away one of the banks, it has made a wide channel. At each of these the current may be deflected, and the channel deepened by a wing dam. At the foot of the island above mentioned, the seventh dam, of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, will slacken and deepen the water to Sturges' ripple, overcoming that of Penwell's and Burntman's. Sturges' ripple is decidedly the most formidable on the river, the fall through it being at the rate of ten feet per mile. The eighth dam, of seven feet, just below it, will, by excavating the right channel at the head of the island above Elkhart, secure sufficient depth to the mouth of Christiana creek. This creek is one of the most valuable streams that discharge themselves into the St. Joseph. It is long and very uniform, never varying more than twelve inches. It has a large amount of fall, which is distributed at intervals, forming valuable mill sites, many of which are unimproved. The Elkhart, which comes in just above the bridge, is a large and important stream. It has many branches, extensive water power, and is navigable for rafts as far as Goshen. The fall in it below that place is from three to five feet per mile.

The rise of water for some distance above Elkhart, as it has been observed to be below, is more rapid than in any other portion of the river of an equal distance. To overcome it, two dams will be necessary in the space of two miles. The most favorable place for the first is just above the bridge; but as it cannot be made at this place of sufficient height without destroying the water power at the mouths of the Christiana and Elkhart, and overflowing a large portion of land, thereby injuring property and endangering the health of the adjacent

country, it is advisable to locate it just above the mouth of the latter stream. The ninth dam, of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, at this place, will improve the river one and one quarter miles, and the tenth, of five feet at that distance, will render it good to Eagle point, at which place the eleventh dam of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet will slacken the water sufficiently to the head of the island opposite Sheep creek. From this point the valley of the river is broader, the bottoms lower, and the current, except in the vicinity of Bristol, slower. Here Nicholson's ripple, and the islands below the place, so obstruct the navigation, that the twelfth dam, of three feet, is necessary below the former. Beyond the extent of its influence, no other improvement is necessary on the Indiana side of the line.

There are several small streams emptying into the river in the last fifteen miles. Among those below Bristol, Pine creek is the largest, and discharges water sufficient for ordinary milling purposes. Little Elkhart comes in at Bristol. Its width at the mouth is fifty feet, and three deep. It has a highly valuable water privilege at this place, which is yet unimproved; two and a half miles above Bristol is Trout creek, which is also a valuable stream, ordinarily furnishing water sufficient for a grist and saw-mill. One of the latter is in operation at its mouth. The distance from the state line to the Three rivers is $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles; and the whole is $34\frac{3}{4}$ feet. That overcome by dams is 11 feet. The character of the river is much like the last part of the portion last described, the bottoms being in many places too low to admit of high dams. The whole number is four; below the line and Constantine, two only are required; the first a short distance below Mottville, $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in height; the second of 3 feet, at the bend below the islands, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles above that place. At two places below Constantine, it is unnecessary to slacken the water, but some improvement is required. At the distance of 21.3 miles, the left channel, formed by an island at that point, should be closed, and the right one excavated, and the same improvements made at the islands, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Constantine. The distance between this place and Three rivers will only require two dams; the first, a mile from the former of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet; the second, at the foot of Knapp's ripple, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles below Three rivers, of 4 feet. In a portion of the stream, commencing 5 miles below that place, the course of it is interrupted by several islands. One of the channels past two of them it is necessary to close; the northern of the first, and the southern of the second.

This portion of the river receives a number of valuable tributaries. Pigeon river enters the St. Joseph three-quarters of a mile northerly of the state line. Its size is 100 feet wide by $2\frac{1}{2}$ deep at its mouth. Its fall below White Pigeon is moderate, and money to some extent has been expended to render it navigable for keel-boats to that place; the project, however, has been abandoned as impracticable. Mills are constructing at Pigeon, above which its hydraulic power is valuable. Mill creek comes in from the north about one mile above Mottville. Its size is 15 by 2 feet, and it discharges water sufficient for several run of stones. At its mouth is a valuable water privilege, but unimproved; and half a mile above it are extensive milling works. Fawn river, which enters from the south a short distance above Constantine, is a stream of nearly the same magnitude as the Pigeon. The value of its hydraulic power, within one and a half miles of its mouth, is not inferior to that of any stream which enters the St. Joseph below. The fall in this distance is 18 feet; and the water of the

whole stream may be brought out at different points upon the bluff, and twice before entering the river. The creation, at this place, of a valuable water power on the St. Joseph, is in contemplation, and the establishment of iron works and other manufactories.

Prairie river, which discharges itself at Eschol, is only a little smaller than Fawn; and its water power at its mouth, and other points above, is scarcely less valuable. At Three rivers, comes in from the north, Rock and Portage rivers; the former is about the size of Fawn. It has been dammed at its mouth, and found capable of driving 15 run of stone. The latter discharges nearly one-third more than the rock, and will afford, by damming it a short distance from its mouth, a proportionally greater power. At this point the St. Joseph loses about one-third of its magnitude; it retains, however, the characteristics it has below. Through some portions of it the water is slow and deep, but at others, for long distances, the ripples are frequent and shoal, the bottom land low, and the stream in many places broken by islands. The water requires not only to be slackened, but deepened. To effect these objects by dams alone, in such a manner as not to injure the adjoining land, will be the most expensive mode of doing it. It is therefore proposed to construct dams at the most favorable places, and extend their influence as far as practicable by excavating the bottom. In accordance with these views, 7 dams will be required between Three rivers and Sturgeon lake, a distance of $26\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The first, of 3 feet in height above the former place, and near the point selected by the Lockport and St. Joseph Manufacturing Company for their dam. The plan adopted by this Company is to dam the river a short distance above the junction of the Three rivers, and cut a canal across the point terminating at the foot of Knapp's ripple of sufficient size for the ordinary navigation of the river, creating thereby a valuable water power, probably not second to any upon the river. The expense of improving this portion of the river, as well as the remaining distance to Union city, will be about the same as that of the first and second portions of it. Besides damming and excavating, several important cuts will be required for the purpose of straightening the stream. All of these will be exhibited on the maps. The Nottawa river enters the St. Joseph 21 miles above Three rivers. It is a rapid stream near its mouth, and of about the size and water of the Rock river. It possesses valuable hydraulic power, of which but a portion is improved. From Sturgeon lake to Union city the distance is $20\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The average width of the river is about 125 feet, and the requisite number of dams, with the necessary bottom excavation, will be seven, each of small lift. Swan creek enters the St. Joseph from the south at Sturgeon lake. It has a fall, near its entrance, of 10 or 12 feet. There is a saw-mill in operation upon it, and a flouring mill erecting. The Coldwater, which forms a part of the St. Joseph at Union city, is about one-quarter longer than the St. Joseph, immediately above it. It enters from the south, and has an elevation of about 20 feet in the first five miles from its mouth. At this place a dam is erected, which flows the water back to Branch.

The river, at this place, being so much decreased in size, it was deemed inadvisable to continue the examination further, with a view to its improvement. The whole distance of river to this point is 160 miles: and elevation above Lake Michigan, 285 feet.

Agreeable to instructions, a line was surveyed to ascertain the feasibility of connecting Union city with Homer, on the Kalamazoo, by a canal navigation. The distance being 20 miles, two lines were run at the commencement of the route; the first, from a point of the river half a mile below the village, and passing up a ravine in the rear of it; the second, rising on the highland of the village, and intersecting the point at the head of the ravine. The ravine contains a train of small marshes, which are admirably calculated for basins for a canal. The estimates are based upon this line-

From the head of the ravine the route runs by a straight course across Wilder's prairie to the head of Fish lake, and thence by a direct line passes Camley's prairie to Adamsville; beyond which it runs between a range of hills and the river, and follows a direct route to Tekonsha. From this place it continues a due course to the second range of hills which approach the river about a mile above Tekonsha, and passing between them and the river, follows near the valley of the latter to the head of the lake near the village of Homer. The route is, in most respects, a highly favorable one. The only objectionable feature of it is the amount of lockage, which is 98 feet; being the elevation of the lake above the river at Union city. The lake, which is the summit, can be used as a feeder, and will always afford sufficient water; and by a cut of half a mile in length, and not exceeding in the deepest part seven feet, and generally not more than four, the water of the Kalamazoo, taken from the pond at Homer, can be connected with the lake and the St. Joseph river. The estimates for the canal are based upon a plan of 28 feet bottom, four feet depth, with wooden locks, culverts, &c.

The St. Joseph river rises in Hillsdale county, passes through Calhoun, Branch, and St. Joseph counties; and winding southerly into Indiana, again returns, and passing through Berrien county, empties into Lake Michigan at St. Joseph. It is a large and beautiful stream, and flows through a country which, in salubrity of climate, excellency of water, and richness and fertility of soil, is unsurpassed by any part of the west. Its numerous tributaries, many of which are important streams, offer strong encouragement to the milling and manufacturing interests. These, and other attractions, have already rendered this a wealthy and populous part of the state. Every diversity of grains, fruits and vegetables, yield here in abundance. The soil of the bottoms is a deep, black vegetable mould, and of remarkable fertility; that of the prairies, combining with this earth a considerable portion of lime and sand, is still more productive; and the openings and timbered land by continued cultivation produce abundant crops. This is the character of the land through the whole extent of the survey. Scarcely a waste spot has been met with; though every variety of products is cultivated, yet wheat is, and will always be, the great and staple article of grain. The amount of flour which is shipped is now very large, and is annually and rapidly increasing. Timber affords another important article of transportation in the various kinds of lumber; as the oak, whitewood, black walnut, and many other valuable kinds of timber, abound in every direction. Among the mineral resources are lime and iron. At several places below Niles, a species of lime rock is found, which produces an excellent quality of lime; and above that place, a beautiful quality of lime is manufactured from marl, which exists in large quantities at various points

on the streams, and is the product of the decomposition of shells. Iron ore, of excellent quality, abounds in Indiana, and also within the borders of Michigan. An extensive manufactory of it is carried on at Mishawakee, and is in contemplation at other points of the river. Facilities of transportation by steamboat would induce enterprising citizens to extend the manufacture of this product to a great amount. All these important articles of transportation, and the great variety of others which find a market up and down the river, were its navigation easy and extended, would create a large and flourishing trade. And in the present state of the stream, such are the wants of the country, that, though at great expense for transportation by water, a heavy business is carried on. One steamboat to Niles, and occasionally to South Bend, and eight or ten keelboats to different points of the river, have been in constant operation during the past season; but they have proved so far inadequate to the performance of the business, that three additional steamboats are now building, and will be in readiness for the trade of the river in the early part of next season.

Nature has formed, by this noble stream, a partial water communication to the heart of this peninsula. In improving the facilities of intercourse between the different parts of it, to perfect what she has done appears to be the dictate of sound policy. And when we consider the ease with which it can be made, compared with any other mode of communication, and the great and paramount advantages which will result from it to so wide an extent of the richest portion of the west, the importance of the work appears fully to justify the undertaking of it. And it is the opinion of your engineer, that no delay should be suffered in rendering the navigation practicable and easy for light draft steamboats, through the whole extent that it has been examined. This object can be accomplished much short of the general estimates submitted. These estimates were made in accordance with instructions, with the view to the perfect slack water navigation of the stream. The immediate undertaking of its improvement to such an extent is not deemed advisable.

The improvement of those parts only which present the principal difficulties, is recommended to be immediately undertaken. And were it determined to commence the entire improvement at once, policy would dictate the removal of the principal obstructions first, in order to facilitate the progress of the work, and secure the earliest benefits arising from it. Estimates, exhibiting the cost of such an improvement, are also submitted. By the inspection of them it will be seen that they amount to but about one-third the general estimates; and the seat of the principal difficulties and improvements will also be seen.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the many advantages attending the completion of this work. Those arising from the increased facilities of intercourse are numerous and important. There is one, however, of surpassing value to the country—the vast amount of water power which will be created. The whole extent of the river is admirably situated, and calculated to derive the greatest benefits from extensive water power. The excellency of the water, and salubrity of the climate, insure health; the great and universal fertility of the soil, cheapness and plenteousness of subsistence; the country abounds with materials, and they can be brought with ease from abroad. These circumstances, which are of such primary importance to the prosperity of the arts, combined with an unlimited extent of water power, will court capital, and render

this, at an early day, a great and flourishing manufacturing, as well as agricultural country. The value of the water power, created at the points where the dams are located for the partial improvement, will unquestionably exceed the cost of their construction.

The co-operation of the state of Indiana in the work is all important. She has now in contemplation the construction of a canal along the bank of the stream from Elkhart to South Bend, a part of an unbroken line from Fort Wayne to Michigan city. And though she may not be induced to abandon this project from Elkhart westward in favor of the contemplated improvement of the river, yet it is confidently believed so great are the advantages which she will derive from this improvement, that she will be ready to embark in it at as early a period as her sister state.

The shortness of time since the completion of the survey has rendered it impossible to make as full a report as is desirable. Much matter, which it would be proper to introduce, is in consequence omitted. All information, however, that can be placed upon the maps and profiles, will be. Those which are in progress by Mr. Wm. Main will be completed and submitted at the earliest period practicable. It is proper to remark, that this survey, which has been an extensive and thorough one, will greatly reduce the future expenditures in the improvement of the river; and much credit is due to the gentlemen who have assisted in carrying out, to the full extent, the letter of instructions.

NOTE XI.

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF MICHIGAN.

In Convention, begun at the city of Detroit, on the second Monday of May, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five :

We, the people of the Territory of Michigan, as established by the act of Congress of the eleventh of January, eighteen hundred and five, in conformity to the fifth article of the ordinance providing for the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio, believing that the time has arrived when our present political condition ought to cease, and the right of self-government be asserted; and availing ourselves of the aforesaid ordinance of the Congress of the United States of the thirteenth day of July, seventeen hundred and eighty-seven, and the acts of Congress passed in accordance therewith, which entitled us to admission into the Union, upon a condition which has been fulfilled, do, by our delegates in convention assembled, mutually agree to form ourselves into a free and independent state, by the style and title of "The State of Michigan," and do ordain and establish the following constitution for the government of the same :

ARTICLE I.

1. All political power is inherent in the people.
2. Government is instituted for the protection, security, and benefit of the people; and they have the right at all times to alter or reform the same, and to abolish one form of government and establish another whenever the public good requires it.
3. No man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate privileges.
4. Every person has a right to worship Almighty God according to the dic-

tates of his own conscience; and no person can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support, against his will, any place of religious worship, or pay any tithes, taxes, or other rates, for the support of any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion.

5. No money shall be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of religious societies, or theological or religious seminaries.

6. The civil and religious rights, privileges, and capacities of no individual shall be diminished or enlarged on account of his opinions or belief concerning matters of religion.

7. Every person may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no laws shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all prosecutions or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libellous, is true, and was published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

8. The person, houses, papers and possessions of every individual shall be secure from unreasonable searches and seizures; and no warrant to search any place, or to seize any person or things, shall issue without describing them, nor without probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation.

9. The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

10. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall have the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury, of the vicinage; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; to have the assistance of counsel for his defence; and in all civil cases, in which personal liberty may be involved, the trial by jury shall not be refused.

11. No person shall be held to answer for a criminal offence, unless on the presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases of impeachment, or in cases cognizable by justices of the peace, or arising in the army or militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger.

12. No person for the same offence shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment; all persons shall, before conviction, be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offences, when the proof is evident or the presumption great; and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

13. Every person has a right to bear arms for the defence of himself and the state.

14. The military shall, in all cases and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

15. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner prescribed by law.

16. Treason against the state shall consist only in levying war against it, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort; no person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

17. No bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, shall be passed.

18. Excessive bail shall not be required ; excessive fines shall not be imposed ; and cruel and unjust punishments shall not be inflicted.

19. The property of no person shall be taken for public use without just compensation therefor.

20. The people shall have the right freely to assemble together, to consult for the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the legislature for redress of grievances.

21. All acts of the legislature, contrary to this or any other article of this constitution, shall be void.

ARTICLE II.—*Electors.*

1. In all elections, every white male citizen above the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the state six months next preceding any election, shall be entitled to vote at such election ; and every white male inhabitant of the age aforesaid, who may be a resident of this state at the time of the signing of this constitution, shall have the right of voting as aforesaid ; but no such citizen or inhabitant shall be entitled to vote except in the district, county, or township, in which he shall actually reside at the time of such election.

2. All votes shall be given by ballot, except for such township officers as may, by law, be directed to be otherwise chosen.

3. Electors shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at elections, and in going to and returning from the same.

4. No elector shall be obliged to do militia duty on the days of elections, except in time of war or public danger.

5. No person shall be deemed to have lost his residence in this state by reason of his absence on business of the United States, or of this state.

6. No soldier, seaman, or marine, in the army or navy of the United States, shall be deemed a resident of this state, in consequence of being stationed in any military or naval place within the same.

ARTICLE III.—*Division of the powers of Government.*

1. The powers of the government shall be divided into three distinct departments : the legislative, the executive, and the judicial ; and one department shall never exercise the powers of another, except in such cases as are expressly provided for in this constitution.

ARTICLE IV.—*Legislative Department.*

1. The legislative power shall be vested in a senate and house of representatives.

2. The number of the members of the house of representatives shall never be less than forty-eight nor more than one hundred ; and the senate shall, at all times, equal in number one-third of the house of representatives as nearly as may be.

3. The legislature shall provide by law for an enumeration of the inhabitants of this state in the years eighteen hundred and thirty-seven, and eighteen hundred and forty-five, and every ten years after the said last-mentioned time ; and

at their first session after each enumeration so made as aforesaid, and also after each enumeration made by the authority of the United States, the legislature shall apportion anew the representatives and senators among the several counties and districts according to the number of white inhabitants.

4. The representatives shall be chosen annually on the first Monday of November, and on the following day, by the electors of the several counties or districts into which the state shall be divided for that purpose. Each organized county shall be entitled to at least one representative; but no county hereafter organized, shall be entitled to a separate representative until it shall have attained a population equal to the ratio of representation hereafter established.

5. The senators shall be chosen for two years, at the same time and in the same manner as the representatives are required to be chosen. At the first session of the legislature under this constitution, they shall be divided by lot from their respective districts, as nearly as may be, into two equal classes; the seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the first year, and of the second class at the expiration of the second year, so that one-half, as nearly as may be, shall be chosen annually thereafter.

6. The state shall be divided, at each new apportionment, into a number of not less than four, nor more than eight, senatorial districts, to be always composed of contiguous territory, so that each district shall elect an equal number of senators annually, as nearly as may be; and no county shall be divided in the formation of such districts.

7. Senators and representatives shall be citizens of the United States, and be qualified electors in the respective counties and districts which they represent; and a removal from their respective counties or districts shall be deemed a vacation of their seats.

8. No person holding any office under the United States, or of this state, officers of the militia, justices of the peace, associate judges of the circuit and county courts, and postmasters excepted, shall be eligible to either house of the legislature.

9. Senators and representatives shall, in all cases except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest; nor shall they be subject to any civil process, during the session of the legislature, nor for fifteen days next before the commencement and after the termination of each session.

10. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide. Each house shall choose its own officers.

11. Each house shall determine the rules of its proceedings, and judge of the qualifications, elections, and returns of its own members; and may, with the concurrence of two-thirds of all the members elected, expel a member; but no member shall be expelled a second time for the same cause, nor for any cause known to his constituents antecedent to his election.

12. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and publish the same, except such parts as may require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the request of one-fifth of the members present, be entered on the journal. Any member of either house shall have liberty to dissent from and protest against any act or resolution which he

may think injurious to the public or an individual, and have the reasons of this dissent entered on the journal.

13. In all elections by either or both houses, the votes shall be given *vi-va voce* ; and all votes on nomination made to the senate shall be taken by yeas and nays, and published with the journal of its proceedings.

14. The doors of each house shall be open, except when the public welfare shall require secrecy ; neither house shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that where the legislature may then be in session.

15. Any bill may originate in either house of the legislature.

16. Every bill passed by the legislature shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the governor ; if he approve, he shall sign it ; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it originated, who shall enter the objections at large upon their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of all the members present agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, with the objections, to the other house, by whom it shall likewise be reconsidered ; and if approved also by two-thirds of all the members present in that house, it shall become a law ; but in such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the members voting for or against the bill shall be entered on the journals of each house respectively : And if any bill be not returned by the governor within ten days, (Sundays excepted,) after it has been presented to him, the same shall become a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not become a law.

17. Every resolution to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, except in cases of adjournment, shall be presented to the governor, and, before the same shall take effect, shall be proceeded upon in the same manner as in the case of a bill.

18. The members of the legislature shall receive, for their services, a compensation to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the public treasury ; but no increase of the compensation shall take effect during the term for which the members of either house shall have been elected ; and such compensation shall never exceed three dollars a day.

19. No member of the legislature shall receive any civil appointment from the governor and senate, or from the legislature, during the term for which he is elected.

20. The governor shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies as may occur in the senate and house of representatives.

21. The legislature shall meet on the first Monday in January in every year, and at no other period, unless otherwise directed by law or provided for in this constitution.

22. The style of the laws of this state shall be—*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan.*

ARTICLE V.—Executive Department.

1. The supreme power shall be vested in a governor, who shall hold his office for two years ; and a lieutenant governor shall be chosen at the same time and for the same term.

2. No person shall be eligible to the office of governor or lieutenant governor who shall not have been five years a citizen of the United States, and a resident of this state two years next preceding the election.

3. The governor and lieutenant governor shall be elected by the electors at the times and places of choosing members of the legislature. The persons having the highest number of votes for governor and lieutenant governor shall be elected; but in case two or more have an equal and the highest number of votes for governor or lieutenant governor, the legislature shall by joint vote choose one of the said persons so having an equal and the highest number of votes, for governor or lieutenant governor.

4. The returns of every election for governor and lieutenant governor shall be sealed up and transmitted to the seat of government, by the returning officers, directed to the president of the senate, who shall open and publish them in the presence of the members of both houses.

5. The governor shall be commander-in-chief of the militia, and of the army and navy of this state.

6. He shall transact all executive business with the officers of government, civil and military; and may require information, in writing, from the officers in the executive department, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.

7. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

8. He shall have power to convene the legislature on extraordinary occasions. He shall communicate by message to the legislature, at every session, the condition of the state, and recommend such matters to them as he shall deem expedient.

9. He shall have power to adjourn the legislature to such time as he may think proper, in case of a disagreement between the two houses with respect to the time of adjournment, but not to a period beyond the next annual meeting.

10. He may direct the legislature to meet at some other place than the seat of government, if that shall become, after its adjournment, dangerous from a common enemy or a contagious disease.

11. He shall have power to grant reprieves and pardon after conviction, except in cases of impeachment.

12. When any office, the appointment to which is vested in the governor and senate, or in the legislature, becomes vacant during the recess of the legislature, the governor shall have power to fill such vacancy by granting a commission, which shall expire at the end of the succeeding session of the legislature.

13. In case of the impeachment of the governor, his removal from office, death, resignation, or absence from the state, the powers and duties of the office shall devolve upon the lieutenant governor until such disability shall cease or the vacancy be filled.

14. If, during the vacancy of the office of governor, the lieutenant governor shall be impeached, displaced, resign, die, or be absent from the state, the president of the senate, pro tempore, shall act as governor until the vacancy be filled.

15. The lieutenant governor shall, by virtue of his office, be president of the

senate; in committee of the whole, he may debate on all questions; and when there is an equal division, he shall give the casting vote.

16. No member of congress, nor any other person holding office under the United States, or this state, shall execute the office of governor.

17. Whenever the office of governor or lieutenant governor becomes vacant, the person exercising the powers of governor for the time being shall give notice thereof, and the electors shall, at the next succeeding annual election for members of the legislature, choose a person to fill such vacancy.

18. The governor shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the terms for which he has been elected.

19. The lieutenant governor, except when acting as governor, and the president of the senate pro tempore, shall each receive the same compensation as shall be allowed to the speaker of the house of representatives.

20. A great seal for the state shall be provided by the governor, which shall contain the device and inscriptions represented and described in the papers relating thereto, signed by the president of the convention, and deposited in the office of the secretary of the territory. It shall be kept by the secretary of state; and all official acts of the governor, his approbation of the laws excepted, shall be thereby authenticated.

21. All grants and commissions shall be in the name, and by the authority, of the people of the state of Michigan.

ARTICLE VI.—*Judicial Department.*

1. The judicial power shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such other courts as the legislature may from time to time establish.

2. The judges of the supreme court shall hold their offices for the term of seven years; they shall be nominated, and with the advice and consent of the senate, appointed by the governor. They shall receive an adequate compensation, which will not be diminished during their continuance in office. But they shall receive no fees nor perquisites of office, nor hold any other office of profit or trust under the authority of this state, or of the United States.

3. A court of probate shall be established in each of the organized counties.

4. Judges of all county courts, associate judges of circuit courts, and judges of probate, shall be elected by the qualified electors of the county in which they reside, and shall hold their offices for four years.

5. The supreme court shall appoint their clerk or clerks; and the electors of each county shall elect a clerk, to be denominated a county clerk, who shall hold his office for the term of two years, and shall perform the duties of clerk to all the courts of record to be held in each county, except the supreme court and court of probate.

6. Each township may elect four justices of the peace, who shall hold their offices for four years; and whose powers and duties shall be defined and regulated by law. At their first election they shall be classed and divided by lot into numbers one, two, three, and four, to be determined in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, so that one justice shall be annually elected in each township thereafter. A removal of any justice from the township in which he was elected, shall vacate his office. In all incorporated towns or cities, it shall be competent for the legislature to increase the number of justices,

7. The style of all process shall be "*In the name of the People of the State of Michigan*;" and all indictment shall conclude, against the peace and dignity of the same.

ARTICLE VII.—*Certain State and County Officers.*

1. There shall be a secretary of state, who shall hold his office for two years, and who shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. He shall keep a fair record of the official acts of the legislative and executive departments of the government; and shall, when required, lay the same, and all matters relative thereto, before either branch of the legislature; and shall perform such other duties as shall be assigned him by law.

2. A state treasurer shall be appointed by a joint vote of the two houses of the legislature, and shall hold his office for the term of two years.

3. There shall be an auditor general and an attorney general for the state, and a prosecuting attorney for each of the respective counties, who shall hold their offices for two years, and who shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, and whose powers and duties shall be prescribed by law.

4. There shall be a sheriff, a county treasurer, and one or more coroners, a register of deeds and a county surveyor, chosen by the electors in each of the several counties once in every two years, and as often as vacancies shall happen. The sheriff shall hold no other office, and shall not be capable of holding the office of sheriff longer than four in any term of six years; he may be required by law to renew his security from time to time, and in default of giving such security, his office shall be deemed vacant; but the county shall never be made responsible for the acts of the sheriff.

ARTICLE VIII.—*Impeachments and Removals from Office.*

1. The house of representatives shall have the sole power of impeaching all civil officers of the state for corrupt conduct in office, or for crimes and misdemeanors; but a majority of all the members elected shall be necessary to direct an impeachment.

2. All impeachments shall be tried by the senate. When the governor or lieutenant governor shall be tried, the chief justice of the supreme court shall preside. Before the trial of an impeachment, the members of the court shall take an oath or affirmation truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question according to the evidence; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office; but the party convicted shall be liable to indictment and punishment according to law.

3. For any reasonable cause which shall not be sufficient ground for the impeachment of the judges of any of the courts, the governor shall remove any of them on the address of two-thirds of each branch of the legislature; but the cause or causes for which such removal may be required, shall be stated at length in the address.

4. The legislature shall provide by law for the removal of justices of the peace, and other county and township officers, in such manner and for such cause as to them shall seem just and proper.

ARTICLE IX.—*Militia.*

1. The legislature shall provide by law for organizing and disciplining the militia, in such manner as they shall deem expedient, not incompatible with the constitution and laws of the United States.

2. The legislature shall provide for the efficient discipline of the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and musicians; and may provide by law for the organization and discipline of volunteer companies.

3. Officers of the militia shall be elected or appointed in such manner as the legislature shall from time to time direct, and shall be commissioned by the governor.

4. The governor shall have power to call forth the militia, to execute the laws of the state, to suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

ARTICLE X.—*Education.*

1. The governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the legislature, in joint vote, shall appoint a superintendent of public instruction, who shall hold his office for two years, and whose duties shall be prescribed by law.

2. The legislature shall encourage, by all suitable means, the promotion of intellectual, scientific, and agricultural improvement. The proceeds of all lands that have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States to this state, for the support of schools, which shall hereafter be sold or disposed of, shall be and remain a perpetual fund; the interest of which, together with the rents of all such unsold lands, shall be inviolably appropriated to the support of schools throughout the state.

3. The legislature shall provide for a system of common schools, by which a school shall be kept up and supported in each school district at least three months in every year; and any school district neglecting to keep up and support such a school, may be deprived of its equal proportion of the interest of the public fund.

4. As soon as the circumstances of the state will permit, the legislature shall provide for the establishment of libraries, one at least in each township; and the money which shall be paid by persons as an equivalent for exemption from military duty, and the clear proceeds of all fines assessed in the several counties for any breach of the penal laws, shall be exclusively applied to the support of said libraries.

5. The legislature shall take measures for the protection, improvement, or other disposition of such lands as have been or may hereafter be reserved or granted by the United States to this state for the support of a university; and the funds accruing from the rents or sale of such lands, or from any other source for the purpose aforesaid, shall be and remain a permanent fund for the support of said university, with such branches as the public convenience may hereafter demand for the promotion of literature, the arts and sciences, and as may be authorized by the terms of such grant: And it shall be the duty of the legislature, as soon as may be, to provide effectual means for the improvement and permanent security of the funds of said university.

ARTICLE XI.—*Prohibition of Slavery.*

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever be introduced into this

state, except for the punishment of crimes of which the party shall have been duly convicted.

ARTICLE XII.—*Miscellaneous Provisions.*

1. Members of the legislature, and all officers, executive and judicial, except such inferior officers as may by law be exempted, shall, before they enter on the duties of their respective offices, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will support the constitution of the United States, and the constitution of this state; and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of ——— according to the best of my ability." And no other oath, declaration, or test, shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust.

2. The legislature shall pass no act of incorporation, unless with the assent of at least two-thirds of each house.

3. Internal improvement shall be encouraged by the government of this state; and it shall be the duty of the legislature, as soon as may be, to make provision by law for ascertaining the proper objects of improvement in relation to roads, canals, and navigable waters; and it shall also be their duty to provide by law for an equal, systematic, economical application of the funds which may be appropriated to these objects.

4. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and an accurate statement of the receipts and expenditures of the public money shall be attached to and published with the laws annually.

5. Divorces shall not be granted by the legislature; but the legislature may by law authorize the higher courts to grant them, under such restrictions as they may deem expedient.

6. No lottery shall be authorized by this state, nor shall the sale of lottery tickets be allowed.

7. No county now organized by law shall ever be reduced, by the organization of new counties, to less than four hundred square miles.

8. The governor, secretary of state, treasurer, and auditor general, shall keep their offices at the seat of government.

9. The seat of government for this state shall be at Detroit, or at such other place or places as may be prescribed by law, until the year eighteen hundred and forty-seven, when it shall be permanently located by the legislature.

10. The first governor and lieutenant governor shall hold their offices until the first Monday of January eighteen hundred and thirty-eight, and until others shall be elected and qualified; and thereafter they shall hold their offices for two years, and until their successors shall be elected and qualified.

11. When a vacancy shall happen, occasioned by the death, resignation, or removal from office of any person holding office under this state, the successor thereto shall hold his office for the period which his predecessor had to serve, and no longer, unless again chosen or reappointed.

ARTICLE XIII.—*Mode of amending and revising the Constitution.*

1. Any amendment or amendments to this constitution may be proposed in the senate or house of representatives; and if the same shall be agreed to by a

majority of the members elected to each of the two houses, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be entered on their journals, with the yeas and nays taken thereon, and referred to the legislature then next to be chosen ; and shall be published for three months previous to the time of making such choice : And if in the legislature next chosen as aforesaid, such proposed amendment or amendments shall be agreed to by two-thirds of all the members elected to each house, then it shall be the duty of the legislature to admit such proposed amendment or amendments to the people, in such manner and at such time as the legislature shall prescribe : and if the people shall approve and ratify such amendment or amendments by a majority of the electors qualified to vote for members of the legislature voting thereon, such amendment or amendments shall become part of the constitution.

2. And if at any time two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives shall think it necessary to revise or change this entire constitution, they shall recommend to the electors at the next election for members of the legislature, to vote for or against a convention : and if it shall appear that a majority of the electors voting at such election have voted in favor of calling a convention, the legislature shall at its next session provide by law for calling a convention, to be holden within six months after the passage of such law ; and such convention shall consist of a number of members not less than that of both branches of the legislature.

NOTE XIII.

JURISPRUDENCE OF MICHIGAN.

WITHIN the last year, a revised code of local law has been digested under the auspices of Mr. Fletcher, the chief justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Michigan. The immense mass of obsolete law, comprehended in the statutes, which had been increasing in bulk and complexity from the period of the legislation of the old North-Western Territory through the modifications of the territorial government down to the erection of the State, opposed a formidable obstacle to research in this department. By the adoption of the revised statutes, which are modelled on the enlightened system of jurisprudence which prevails in the State of New-York, the citizens of the State are now provided with an accessible and comprehensive body of statute laws, tending to the administration of cheap and easy justice to all classes of the people. The condition of the legislation of the Territory, when the governor and judges held the power not only to establish but adjudge the same, exhibits a singular phenomenon in the jurisprudential system ; and although a minute account of the operation of that system in Michigan might furnish curious matter for detail, it would not, it is conceived, subserve any very valuable purpose ; and, moreover, it belongs rather to the more technical department of legal literature than to general history.

NOTE XIV.

MANY facts connected with the early history of Michigan have been stated on the authority of the splendid work of Charlevoix, published under the auspices of the French government, and entitled "A General History of New France."

Since the foregoing was written, however, an article has appeared in an American periodical which throws new light upon the first exploration of the North-West. It is a labored and critical examination of contemporaneous records, which may be considered good authority, connected with the settlement of the West. Among those good fathers whose benevolent exertions distinguished that period, the men who lived on "Indian corn grinded small," and "little frogs gathered in the meadows," the most distinguished was Father Marquette, whose life has recently been written by Mr. Jared Sparks. By this it appears that Marquette, having founded a settlement at Michilimackinac, labored in the surrounding regions until 1673, when M. Talon, the Intendant General of the colony, requested him to start for the discovery of the Mississippi. On the 13th of March, 1673, M. Joliet, Marquette, and five other Frenchmen, left that place in two canoes. Passing through Green Bay, and toiling along the rapids of Fox River, they at length came to an Indian village. Here they found a cross, on which were hung bows and arrows, skins and belts, as an offering to the Great Spirit because he had given them a successful chase. On the 10th of June the adventurous party left this village, beyond which no Frenchman had before gone, and soon arrived at the Wisconsin. On the 17th of the same month they came to the Mississippi, on the banks of which they desiered deer and buffaloes. On the waters of the Mississippi they also saw swans floating "wingless," and their canoes were nearly dashed to pieces by some "great fish" which were found in those parts. Marquette and Joliet soon came to a village of the Illinois, where they were treated with hospitality by the savages. Leaving the Illinois, the travellers passed certain rocks, on which were painted monsters, against whom they had been warned upon Lake Michigan by the Indians. Reaching the Missouri and the Ohio, they went down to "Akamsca," where they ascertained that the Mississippi flowed into the sea. From this point they started, on the 17th of July, to retrace their steps, and soon reached the Illinois, and from that, Lake Michigan. "Nowhere," says Marquette, "did we see such grounds, meadows, woods, buffaloes, stags, deer, wild cats, bustards, swans, ducks, parroquets, and even beavers," as on the Illinois river. Father Marquette afterwards remained on the Illinois in the exercise of his missionary functions until 1675; on the 18th of May of that year, he died on the western shore of the peninsula of Michigan, and was buried near the mouth of the river now called by his name in this state.

A portion of the article, to which allusion is made, is devoted to a consideration of La Salle's explorations. On the winter days of 1678, when Lake Erie frozen lay before them like a "plain paved with fine polished marble," La Salle's men built the *Griffin*, for the purpose of exploring the mouth of the Mississippi. In August, 1679, the *Griffin* was ready to sail, and she started on her voyage with the sound of *Te Deums* and the discharge of arquebuses;

while the Iroquis, who had regarded their operations with jealousy, and who had once attacked the blacksmith of the expedition, looked on with amazement. Thus the voyagers passed across Lake Erie by Detroit, through Lake St. Clair and Lake Huron; and on the 28th of August arrived at Michilimackinac. Here La Salle founded a fort. He then went down to Green Bay, where he collected a cargo of furs, and despatched them to Niagara in the *Griffin*. La Salle, with fourteen men, now paddled down Lake Michigan in canoes marking the shallows by bear skins stuck on poles, and feeding on bears' flesh; and on the 1st of November, 1679, he founded the old fort upon the St. Joseph River of Lake Michigan; Hennepin preached patience and courage; and Tonti, the Italian, who was his lieutenant, soon appeared with some good venison; but the *Griffin*, which was expected, did not return. Having placed a garrison of ten men in his fort of St. Joseph, he started from that fort with the remainder, "thirty working-men and three monks."

From this point they dropped down the Illinois. La Salle soon arrived at a village which appears to have been the present site of Rockfort, Illinois, at an Indian settlement. In this region he built the fort Creve Cœur. The winter thus wore away; and finding that the *Griffin* did not make her appearance, La Salle despatched Father Louis Hennepin, and M. Dacan to explore the sources of the Mississippi, and they started upon their voyage on the last day of February, 1680.

The second voyage of La Salle, for the discovery of the Mississippi, it is alleged by this writer, commenced upon the Illinois River in January, 1683. This is stated on the authority of Tonti. On the 7th of February they reached the Mississippi, and on the 9th of April they came to its mouth.

On the 24th of July, 1684, La Salle again sails for America from Rochelle; and his assassination took place, according to Joutel, on the 20th day of the month in 1687, near the mouth of Trinity River, according to the map in Charlevoix. By Joutel's account, La Salle was a man of science and accomplishments, although haughty, arbitrary, and severe towards his men, in a degree which cost him his life. By the people whom La Salle sent out, the forts of Kaskaskia, Kahokia, and Peoria were founded. As he also laid the foundation of the fort on St. Joseph River, and also of that at Michilimackinac, his name deserves an important place in the annals of Michigan.

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ERRATA.

Page 3, line 9, for conjury, read *conjuring*; p. 21, l. 21, for for, read *from*; p. 21, l. 5, for 145, read 155; p. 47, l. 8, for most, *much*; p. 47, l. 19, for buffalo, *buffaloes*; p. 49, l. 19, for Dutchess, *Duchesse*; p. 59, l. 2, for to be, *to have been*; p. 60, note, for A, IV; p. 61, l. 16, for Pquottlee, *Piqu*; p. 61, note, for B., V; p. 101, l. 32, for George, *Ecorce*; p. 108, l. 19, for Cohonnor, *Cochon*; p. 104, l. 22, for gate, *gates*; p. 109, l. 17, for 1646, 1826; p. 110, l. 26, for Melveri, *Meloche*; p. 119, l. 17, for Crocke, *Croche*; p. 120, l. 20, for Powatan, *Wawatam*; p. 124, l. 7, for salt, *skull*; p. 128, l. 15, for 1774, 1794; p. 131, l. 31, for stretched, *had stretched*; p. 132, l. 23, for they, *it*; p. 155, l. 29, for 1792, 1790; p. 156, l. 31, for 1761, 1791; p. 201, l. 23, for amplest, *most ample*; p. 201, l. 25, omit *not*; p. 210, l. 7, for were, *was*; p. 212, l. 33, for langrade, *langrage*; p. 213, l. 12, for and, *was*; p. 213, l. 13, for bulwarks, *bulwarks by that ship*; p. 216, l. 25, for diamer, *diameter*; p. 217, l. 5, for collected, *collecting*; p. 226, l. 22, for is, *are*; p. 227, l. 38, for depopulation, *deportation*; p. 229, l. 32, for a mile square, *a square mile*; p. 229, l. 33, for numerical order, *in numerical order*; p. 229, l. 35, for blared, *blazed*; p. 233, l. 33, for are, *is*; p. 235, l. 31, for Sheawassu, *Shiawassee*; p. 238, l. 32, for it was provided, *provided*; p. 239, l. 22, for 15, 7; p. 246, l. 12, for was, *were*; p. 247, l. 3, for 520,000, 3,520,000; p. 251, l. 24, for is, *are*; p. 253, l. 34, for are, *is*; p. 254, l. 2, for crystalirid, *crystalized*; p. 255, l. 12, for present, *presents*; p. 259, l. 28, for has recorded, *contains*; p. 261, l. 6, for canals, *sands*; p. 261, l. 22, for free, *tree*; p. 264, l. 12, for denseness, *density*; p. 264, l. 24, for are, *is*; p. 264, l. 27, for are, *is*; p. 273, l. 22, for stone, *store*; p. 275, l. 33, for in, *it*; p. 276, l. 21, for alluviations, *deposition*; p. 277, l. 7, for some, *of some*; p. 292, l. 24, omit *be*; p. 316, l. 17, for flowing, *flawery*; p. 378, l. 20, for limited, *united*.



